

NEW METHODS FOR EXAMINING PREJUDICE:  
INGROUP-OUTGROUP COGNITION AND ITS RELATIONSHIP  
TO ACCEPTANCE OF DIVERSITY

By

MICHELLE ROBIN DUNLAP

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What you are is God's gift to you, but what you make of  
yourself is your gift to God.

Author unknown

The following is dedicated to the precious memories of  
my grandmothers: Lucille Gay Dunlap, Willie Lee Johnson and  
Dollie Ola Mae Bell.

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By

Michelle Robin Dunlap

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The main purpose of this study was to test the hypothesis that components of a social-cognitive orientation instrument indicating high levels of non-ingroup/outgroup cognition, or "us and them" styles of thinking, would be associated with, and predictive of, acceptance of a diverse range of others. Non-ingroup/outgroup cognition is defined for the purposes of this study as the tendency to fail to cognitively orient oneself and social others in terms of your or their presence, membership, status, or position within a group.

The second purpose of the study was to test the hypothesis that the above-mentioned non-ingroup/outgroup components of the social-cognitive orientation instrument would serve as better predictors of acceptance of a diverse range of others than would traditional measures of prejudice

such as the Modern Racism Scale. Correlational analyses and forward entry multiple regression analyses were utilized to test the first two hypotheses.

A third purpose of the study was to attempt to further support the research that indicates that prejudice aimed at any one category of persons is usually associated with prejudice aimed at other categories of persons. This hypothesis in the past has been limited to three categories of persons such as female, African-American and homosexual, and was tested utilizing only correlational analysis. In the current study, however, a larger set of intercategory associations of prejudice were tested utilizing factor analyses.

The results of the current study indicate strong support for all three of the hypotheses. High levels of non-ingroup/outgroup cognition and similarity orientation were significantly and positively associated with acceptance of diversity. Further, levels of non-ingroup/outgroup cognition and similarity orientation were significantly more predictive of acceptance of diversity than were traditional measures of prejudice.

Another goal of the study was to present and utilize a less reactive, more positive and more comprehensive method for studying prejudice. Previous studies of prejudice have been inherently biased in the negative direction by definition. In addition, such studies are usually laden

with reactive and social-desirability detractors. The current social-cognitive orientation and acceptance of diversity approach takes a more constructive, multidimensional, and inclusive approach. The infrequent correlations and insignificant predictive ability of social desirability within the hypothesized models indicate that, as was hoped, the current study was also a much less reactive method for studying prejudice. The "cognitive schema" approach to acceptance of diversity circumvents and avoids some of the biases associated with the study of prejudice.

The current study was partially based upon a pilot study. The pilot study background, method and results are also presented as the first study of a two-study set. Both studies, however, equally share the review of the literature.

## CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

One can pick up a copy of any current newspaper and see that prejudice of all kinds is still a serious problem in our society. The study of prejudice, historically, has been difficult because it has been plagued with problems of reactivity and negativity. Prejudice itself has also been difficult to define, operationalize, observe and/or manipulate.

The purpose of this study is to examine the role of individual cognitive styles or orientations as a general and more improved approach to the study of prejudice. It is proposed that the origins of prejudiced behavior reside, in part, in a person's cognitive orientation and the social schemas that are used in processing interpersonal information. This chapter begins with an examination of prejudice as a problem in our society that warrants continued study and attempts at amelioration. Within this chapter, what is known about prejudice is utilized to discuss the rationale involved in the conceptualizing of cognitive orientations that are believed to be theoretically, and in some cases empirically, associated

with less prejudiced opinions and behaviors. Less prejudiced behavior, for the purpose of the current study, is defined as "the acceptance of a diversity of others." The utility of the concept of cognitive orientations associated with acceptance of diversity is considered as an alternative to the concept of prejudice.

While many components of thought may possibly be associated with acceptance of diversity, nine components were initially given theoretical consideration. However, in an attempt to limit the current study to one theoretical aspect of less prejudiced thought or cognition, of these nine, the components that are theoretically associated with the presence or lack of ingroup-outgroup social group perception are hypothesized as being positively associated with acceptance of diversity as measured by the tendency to approach or to be open to an approach by diverse others. Ingroup-outgroup social perception or cognition is defined for the purposes of this study as the tendency to cognitively orient oneself and social others in terms of the presence, membership, status or position that is held relative to a group. These components included Similarity Orientation, Inclusiveness, Marginality, and Nonhierarchicalness. Each of the nine components are found in Ziller's and Clarke's (1987) and Ziller's (1990a) Self-Social Schema Orientation Instrument and are presented in this study in Appendices E, F, and G. The rationale behind

the consideration of each of them as being theoretically associated with the lack of the ingroup-outgroup cognitive tendency will be explored and discussed in detail.

Secondly it is also hypothesized that these above-mentioned ingroup-outgroup components would serve as better predictors of acceptance of diversity than traditional measures of prejudice such as the Modern Racism Scale.

Finally, a third purpose of this study concerns the question of the globalness or interrelatedness of prejudice. Previous literature and research on the topic have indicated that prejudice may be highly interrelated due to the fact that high correlations have been observed for prejudice toward women, African Americans and homosexuals. If prejudice and nonprejudice are considered cognitive styles, it would be appropriate to expect subjects to respond similarly to diverse others rather than to single out one or two particular groups towards which to display prejudice or nonprejudice.

We begin with the concept of prejudice, from which the concept nonprejudice will be derived. The major belief or proposition that has driven the current study is that the tendency to avoid cognizing social situations in terms of ingroup-outgroup membership is an important key to low or nonprejudiced behavior.

### An Examination of Prejudice

In this section of the review of the literature, prejudice is examined and defined in terms of psychological and sociological phenomena. Approaches to the study of prejudice are then discussed, followed by a more in-depth discussion of the interrelatedness and the specificity of prejudice. From this discussion of prejudice a discussion of the components most likely associated with less prejudiced thought will be derived.

#### Prejudice Defined and Conceptualized

Prejudice, which is a major focus of this study, is a relatively negative evaluation of, or response to, people based on category membership. As such, specific prejudices may contain cognitive, affective and conative components containing beliefs or stereotypes about the target group, liking or disliking for them, and approach or avoidance of them. Various forms, intensities and consequences of prejudice will be discussed as they pertain to the scope of this study.

Prejudice as defined above is not the only definition offered in the literature. Numerous related definitions of prejudice at various levels of analysis have been offered within the social psychological literature. Bagley et al. (1979) note that between 1960 and 1973, at least fourteen different but related definitions of prejudice were

proffered. The mercurial nature of the definition of prejudice continues in the literature today. For example, Stephan (1985, p. 600) defines prejudice simply as "negative attitudes toward social groups." Jones (1981) more elaborately defines prejudice as

the prior negative judgment of the members of a race or religion or the occupant of any other significant social role, held in disregard of the facts that contradict it . . . an affective, categorical mode of mental functioning involving rigid prejudgment and misjudgment of human groups. (Jones, 1981, p. 280)

It can be agreed that regardless of which definition is utilized, prejudice can be exhibited by, and/or aimed toward, anyone (Hamilton, 1979). A prejudice, like any other attitude, is generally conceptualized as containing a belief component, consisting of ideas and opinions that are often stereotypes; an evaluative or affective component, consisting of liking or disliking; and a behavioral component, which could result in an approach, favoritism, avoidance or even discrimination (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986). The relationship amongst the components of prejudice is difficult to unravel because of the highly interrelated nature of these concepts (Stroebe & Insko, 1989). For example, there is much debate as to whether stereotypic beliefs cause--or are caused by--prejudice. Cognitive theorists such as Hamilton (1979), for example, tend to argue that categorization and stereotyping result in prejudice. Motivational theorists tend to argue the reverse, that is, that stereotypic beliefs are

rationalizations that we construct to justify ethnic, gender, etc. scapegoating or to defend fragile egos, limited resources, etc. (Stroebe & Insko, 1989).

Nonetheless, it is generally accepted by social psychologists that behaviors that may lead to prejudice (e.g., categorizing) are both necessary and inevitable (Tajfel, 1969; Hamilton, 1979; McCauley & Stitt, 1980; Stephan, 1985). Allport, in his historic work (1954) declared that one behavior that often leads to prejudice is stereotyping. Stereotyping has often been considered by traditional (Allport, 1954) and contemporary researchers alike (e.g., Hamilton, 1979) to be unavoidable:

The human mind must think with the aid of categories (the term is equivalent here to generalizations). Once formed, categories are the basis for normal prejudgment. We cannot possibly avoid this process. Orderly living depends upon it. . . . This chapter has argued that man has a propensity to prejudice. This propensity lies in his normal and natural tendency to form generalizations, concepts, categories, whose content represents an oversimplification of his world of experience. His rational categories keep close to first-hand experience, but he is able to form irrational categories just as readily. In these even a kernel of truth may be lacking, for they can be composed wholly of hearsay evidence, emotional projections, and fantasy. (Allport, 1954, pp. 20, 27; parentheses and emphasis in original text)

And how such cognitive categorizations affect our interpersonal behavior is summed in the words of David Wilder:

To the extent that subjects perceive themselves as a unit with the ingroup, they will act to favor the ingroup over the outgroup. Thus, ingroup/outgroup bias may be a consequence of normal categorization processes. (1981, p. 232)

Walter Stephan (1985) goes on to say:

The research in this areas indicates that virtually any categorization process can lead to ingroup-outgroup bias . . . (Stephan, 1985, p. 613)

Impressively, David Hamilton presents page upon page of research evidence to support his contention that "cognitive mechanisms alone may be the foundation of perceived intergroup differences" (1979, p. 54).

Although the above-outlined, strictly cognitive, view has dominated social psychology in the past several decades and even today, some cognitive researchers are challenging this view (e.g., Billig, 1985; Jones, 1986; Devine, 1989). For example, Allport (1954), along with many contemporary theorists (e.g., Hamilton, 1979) make the point that everyone is prejudiced, or has prejudicial tendencies, to one degree or another. Devine (1989) called this position into question and conducted research that showed that while most people have awareness of the stereotypes associated with particular categories, some are better able to control or inhibit their endorsement of those stereotypes. This in turn allows them to behave in a more nonprejudiced manner.

Billig (1985) agrees that most people have a tendency to categorize. However, he argues that there may be an equally powerful tendency to particularize. Particularization is the tendency opposite of the categorization tendency. In this sense, categorizing can be thought of as cognitive assimilation, and particularizing as

cognitive accommodation in the Piagetian sense (Berger, 1988). Thus, rather than treating stimuli as common to particular categories, we often treat them as related but unique and schematize them into their own categories. Billig (1985) argues that this is an important tendency to be considered in the study of prejudice/nonprejudice, rather than assuming that all processing of social stimuli ends in category-based evaluation that could lead to prejudiced evaluations.

Although Pettigrew (1981) conceptualizes prejudice as a universal tendency, he concerns himself with the degree to which a person possesses this tendency. He argues that once one passes a particular degree of prejudicial tendency, he enters into a territory where the prejudice is a threat to the person's mental, and perhaps physical, well-being. For this reason, he cautions against being too comfortable with the prejudice-as-normal-and-necessary theme.

Nonetheless, it is still agreed by most researchers that everyone has prejudicial tendencies to some degree (Hamilton, 1979; Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981), while some may have the tendency to a very high degree and others to a moderate, or even a relatively low, degree. As Devine (1989) concludes in her extensive work on prejudice,

It is argued that prejudice need not be the consequence of ordinary thought processes. Although stereotypes still exist and can influence the responses of both high- and low- prejudice subjects, particularly when those responses are not subject to close conscious scrutiny, there are individuals who actively reject the

negative stereotype and make efforts to respond in nonprejudiced ways. At least in situations involving consciously controlled stereotype-related processes, those who score low in prejudice on an attitude scale are attempting to inhibit stereotypic responses. . . . The present framework, because of its emphasis on the possible dissociation of automatic and controlled processes, allows for the possibility that those who report being nonprejudiced are in reality low in prejudice. (Devine, 1989, p. 16, emphasis in original)

Devine's (1989) position is that we all have knowledge of and a propensity for prejudice, but what distinguishes prejudiced-behaving from nonprejudiced-behaving people is how their prejudice tendencies are self-managed or -controlled.

Thus, within social psychology, prejudice is generally conceptualized as a natural tendency that we all possess, some to greater degrees than others depending upon our cognitive style, the characteristics or properties of the stimuli we must evaluate, and the characteristics of the situation or circumstances under which the evaluations are being made. Particular style, stimuli and situational concerns that make us more or less prone to prejudicial behavior will be discussed in more detail in a subsequent section.

In attempting to examine prejudice for the purpose of this study, it was necessary to clarify the meaning of prejudice as distinct from related terms, i.e., stereotypes, racism and discrimination. There are often differences in opinion regarding the meaning of each of these terms (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981; Devine, 1989, p. 16). The

generally accepted definition of "stereotype" is "cognitive structure[s] that contain the perceiver's knowledge, beliefs, and expectancies about some human group" (Hamilton & Trolier, 1986, p. 133). "Racism" is extremely difficult to define even to the degree that some people have questioned the scholarly use of the term "because it is so manifestly value laden" (Jaynes & Williams, 1989, p. 567). Though no one definition of racism is accepted by everyone, Feagin (1989) defines racism as

an ideology that considers a group's unchangeable physical characteristics to be linked in a direct, causal way to psychological or intellectual characteristics, and on this basis distinguishes between superior and inferior racial groups. (Feagin, 1989, p. 5)

"Discrimination" is defined as "a selectively unjustified negative behavior toward members of the target group" (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986, p. 3) "carried out by members of dominant groups . . . that have a differential and harmful impact" (Feagin, 1989, p. 14; see also Allport, 1954, p. 51).

Thus, the previously offered definitions of prejudice are not to be equated with stereotypes, racism and discrimination, although all of the terms appear to be highly related. While stereotypes are accepted in the literature as a belief component of prejudice, discrimination and racism are conceptualized as the manifestation or result of stereotypes and prejudice (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986; Stroebe & Insko, 1989; Hamilton,

1979). Although stereotypes, racism, and discrimination are not the main focus of this study, it is difficult to discuss prejudice exclusive of these other concepts because of their interweaved nature.

Prejudice as a Problem

Jones (1986), in an edited volume titled Prejudice, Discrimination, and Racism (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986), makes the point that there is clear, factual evidence that categorical memberships such as "race, gender, age, and ethnicity all influence behavioral outcomes in this society" (p. 280). These outcomes are influenced by certain factors, one of which is prejudice. Prejudice, in its mildest forms, is considered harmless and even functional (Allport, 1954; Hamilton, 1979). On the other hand, at its extreme, prejudice can be dysfunctional and dangerous for the holder of the prejudice and the one at which the prejudice is aimed. For example, Berrill (1990) and the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force Policy Institute (1990) report that in some large cities, prejudicial activities against assumed or actual homosexuals (in some cases including violence and murder) have tripled since the mid-1980s and are reaching epidemic proportions. Villarosa (1991) has reported studies that indicate that at least 30% of teen suicides are associated with the fear of prejudice from outsiders against their possible homosexuality. And although some would

disagree (e.g., Weigel & Howes, 1985, p. 131), there is a consensus that extreme prejudice can result in neuroses, psychoses, racism, and/or violence on the part of the prejudiced person (Pettigrew 1981; Pettigrew & Martin, 1987; Dennis, 1981; e.g., Associated Press, 1991).

As stated earlier prejudice can be elicited by and/or aimed at any category of persons, particularly those to whom we perceive as being different from us. We are more likely to attribute negative, dispositional qualities to those to whom we cannot relate or with whom we see little connection or similarity (Fiske & Taylor, 1984). There are endless numbers of categories that can be considered in our discussion of the problem of prejudice, approaches to it, and prescriptions for it. However, when specific category examples are called for, ethnic-category findings and examples from the literature primarily will be used to illustrate cognitive concepts and principles that surround prejudice in general. This approach makes practical sense in that, as Ashmore and Del Boca (1981) have noted, the most commonly studied targets of prejudice have been "ethnic-racial-national groups, and more recently women and men" (p. 13). Says a regional vice president of the Association of Multi-ethnic Americans, "[At this time] interracial issues are one of the hottest subjects in this country" (Phil Donahue Show, 1991).

With the continued ethnic, gender, aesthetic appearance, sexual orientation, and other prejudices and tensions that exist in our communities, nations, and world, it is crucial that the study of prejudice continue. Changing demographics and lifestyles also make it necessary for people to finally come to terms with the problem of prejudice. For example, it has been well noted that in the very near future, people of color will no longer exist as the numerical minority in this nation, but will instead exist as the numerical majority. By the year 2050, European Americans will be the "minority" (Njeri, 1991). Regardless of the numerics of these kinds of situations, will we as a nation be mentally prepared for the cultural and lifestyle shifts that will occur as a result of the changing demographics and the greater demands for which minorities and interest groups are calling (Gray, 1991)? One of the aims of this research is to help us to understand some of the positive things that can be accomplished in our thinking, socializing, etc., that can help us to function more effectively as we encounter and interact with the broad spectrum of people who exist in our world not only at present, but even more so in the future.

#### Modern forms of prejudice

In spite of the statements quoted above indicating that prejudice is still a problem to be overcome in this country, many authors and researchers have argued that with each

passing year, prejudice becomes less of a problem in our society as the "melting pot" dissolves cultural differences and people become more aware of and accepting of others and their various backgrounds and lifestyles (e.g., Gray, 1991). It is also thought that prejudice has been, and still is, exhibited less by the liberal sector of our society as they are the ones who are the most likely to perceive people in an egalitarian fashion and often fight for the rights of women, African Americans and other oppressed racial groups, homosexuals, and the less privileged in general (Dutton, 1976; Gaertner, 1976; Stephan, 1985). Others however, make a distinction between the "old-fashioned" or "red-neck" racism and the more subtle, modern forms of racism, which are also known as "symbolic racism" (Weigel and Howes, 1985, p. 119). These forms of racism have been studied fairly recently, for only the past fifteen post-civil-rights-movement years. During this time, researchers have attempted to observe and understand European-American responses to affirmative action and busing. The neo-reverse-discrimination types of claims made such study intriguing. These "newer," modern or symbolic forms of racism, as they are called, may involve, for example, verbally promoting and expressing equality and beneficial regard for outgroup members such as African Americans while behaviorally opposing symbolic issues such as affirmative action, busing, special scholarship programs, etc., with a

well defended strategy of excuses (Weigel & Howes, 1985, p. 118). For example, studies by Pettigrew and Martin (1987, p. 49) indicate that European Americans--particularly liberal European Americans--remain prejudiced toward African Americans though it has taken on more subtle, indirect and covert forms. The difference is that it is with a "greater subtlety and indirectness" than it was years ago. These subtle acts of indirect "microaggressions against" and "avoidance of" African Americans have devastating consequences for everyone involved (Pettigrew & Martin, 1987, p. 47; Pettigrew, 1981; Essed, 1991). As an example, regarding prejudice in the occupational environment:

Precisely because of their subtlety and indirectness, these modern forms of prejudice and avoidance are hard to eradicate. Often the black is the only person in a position to draw the conclusion that prejudice is operating in the work situation. Whites have usually observed only a subset of the incidents, any one of which can be explained away by a nonracial account. Consequently, many whites remain unconvinced of the reality of subtle prejudice and discrimination, and come to think of their black co-workers as "terribly touchy" and "overly sensitive" to the issue. For such reasons, the modern forms of prejudice frequently remain invisible even to its perpetrators. (Pettigrew & Martin, 1987, p. 50)

Gaertner and Dovidio (1986) state that in these types of situations, the negative feelings that European Americans have for African Americans do not consist of hate or even hostility. Instead, the negative feelings involve "discomfort, uneasiness, disgust, and sometimes fear, which tend to motivate avoidance rather than intentionally destructive behaviors" (p. 63). These forms of behavior

express prejudice but "do not threaten or challenge their nonprejudiced self-images" (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986, p. 20). Says Jones (1986), these kinds of behaviors are an outgrowth of

a strong ethnocentric bias . . . [and] . . . human tendencies toward social categorization [leading] to ingroup preference, which leads to outgroup discrimination . . . the indirect result of social categorization. (p. 307-308)

Thus, we find that even today, when racism and prejudice are not viewed as socially acceptable, prejudice still exists, not only racially (Dutton, 1976), but with gender (Woudenberg, 1977), with age (Linville, 1982), with the handicapped (Kleck, 1968), and with sexual orientation (Henley & Pincus, 1978), to name but a few. Prejudice aimed at some groups may be more or less subtle than that aimed at other groups. Berrill (1990) presents data indicating that overall, prejudice against homosexuals is by no means subtle (although it does have its subtle forms amongst individuals) in this country and is growing at a rapid rate. Similarly, Crandall (under review) and Crandall and Biernet (1990) make note of the overtness and brashness of prejudice toward the overweight in relation to other forms of prejudice. In general, prejudice toward homosexuals and the obese seem to be at a form and a level similar to where racial prejudice was fifty or so years ago, and likewise may be headed toward dangerously subtle forms.

As prejudice toward the homosexual becomes less socially acceptable (NGLTF, 1991), it too will probably take on more subtle forms. Two quotes made by Feagin (1991), though focused mostly on the problem of racial prejudice, are quite eloquently applicable to gender, age, sexual-orientation, disability, obesity and other prejudices:

Changing relations between blacks and whites in recent decades have expanded the repertoire of discrimination to include more subtle forms and to encompass discrimination in arenas from which blacks were formerly excluded, such as formerly all-white public accommodations. (Feagin, 1991, p. 102)

Prejudice-generated aggression in public places is, of course, not limited to black men and women--gay men and white women are also targets of street harassment. . . . Particular instances of discrimination may seem minor to outside white observers when considered in isolation. But when blatant acts of avoidance, verbal harassment, and physical attack combine with subtle and covert slights, and these accumulate over months, years, and lifetimes, the impact on a black person is far more than the sum of the individual instances. (Feagin, 1991, p. 114)

Dovidio and Gaertner (1986) make the point and present extensive research evidence that even the mild forms of prejudice that are considered common today are problematic and have a devastating cumulative effect:

Contemporary forms of racial prejudice typically have a pervasive, but often unrecognized, influence on the implementation of social policies, the legal process, and society in general, and they are difficult to eradicate. (p. 19)

These forms of prejudice are what Essed (1991) calls "everyday racism." Everyday racism is a type of prejudice

that is

systemic, recurrent . . . familiar . . . generalized . . . [and] cumulative. . . . It involves socialized attitudes and behavior. . . . [It] is defined in terms of practices prevalent in a given system . . . [and] include[s] complex relations of acts and (attributed) attitudes. (Essed, 1991, p. 3)

Like Dovidio and Gaertner (1986), Essed (1991) argues that even the outdated notions of racial superiority and inferiority have been replaced by more subtle ideology whose underlying message implies that

Euro-American cultural standards are uncritically accepted as the norm and positive standard . . . [with] the traditional idea of genetic inferiority [being] still important in the fabric of [prejudice]. (Essed, p. 14)

One does not have to look far to see that Essed's (1991) notion may be true. For example, a contemporary introductory psychology text opens its chapter on "Intelligence" with neanderthal-like Eskimos stereotypically pulling dog sleds and primitive-sounding Africans chasing monkeys through the jungle (O'Connell, 1988). These depictions were offered by the author of the text as contemporary examples of the diversity of intelligence. The contrast made between these and the Euro-American marks of intelligence were as follows:

In Africa, the ability to follow a spoor, and capture your prey would be considered as marks of intelligence. In our society, the definition of intelligence centers on the ability to read, write and calculate--academic success! . . . [I]n our society, we measure intelligence by book learning [and given that], would a child that we consider to be very intelligent by our standards also be considered intelligent by Eskimo and

Black standards? . . . [W]ould his superiority carry over..? (p. 107)

Most might have to take a second or third glance before recognizing the prejudicial bias reflected in this passage. Such difficulty in identifying the prejudice illustrates Essed's (1991; Feagin, 1991; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986) thesis that today's prejudice is subtle, systemic, recurrent, familiar, generalized, and cumulative. The above quoted author has assumed that the Euro-culture has a monopoly on literacy and science. The Eurocentric orientation is further illustrated by the subtle use of the word "superiority" in the above passage.

The above quoted passage not only illustrate Essed's thesis regarding everyday prejudice being vague, recurrent, familiar, generalized, and cumulative, but it also demonstrates the interrelationship between stereotypes and prejudice. As Stroebe and Insko (1989) argue,

[T]he concepts of "stereotype" and "prejudice" are closely related and . . . prejudice as a negative attitude towards an outgroup or the members of that group is usually based on a negative stereotype, that is, on beliefs that associate that group with predominantly negative attributes. (p. 4)

Stereotypes, no matter how natural and necessary (Allport, 1954; Hamilton, 1979), often reinforce prejudicial thinking. The inaccurate and stereotypical images that are depicted in the previously quoted text would reinforce avoidant attitudes and behavior toward these cultures, which would in

turn, at the minimum, lead to the kind of subtle, everyday prejudice discussed within this section.

Gaertner and Dovidio (1986) elaborate on the difficulty and pervasiveness of the problem with regard to prejudice towards African Americans:

Even if people genuinely attempt to reject the socially less desirable stereotypes and characterizations of blacks, it may be difficult for even the most well-intentioned white persons to escape the development of negative beliefs concerning blacks and to avoid feelings of superiority and relative good fortune over the fact that they are white rather than black and are culturally advantaged rather than disadvantaged. (p. 65)

Given the examples offered throughout this section, it appears that the problem of prejudice is one that still needs to be addressed on a variety of levels including individual and societal as well as cognitive and motivational (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986; Essed, 1991). Jones (1981, p. 33) has noted that "group conflict is real, and in-group bias, according to the research literature, is likely to increase." Pettigrew and Martin (1987, p. 50) state that "social psychological, sociological, and organizational research can help us alleviate the effects of modern prejudice."

Prescriptions are offered in the literature though many conflict. Jones' (1986) work suggests that with the research knowledge that we have regarding ingroup-outgroup categorization effects, there are at least two ways that we can practically apply that knowledge to improve

interpersonal relations across, at the minimum, inter-ethnic lines:

There are two general methods for reducing the categorization effects: 1. Reduce the salience of group boundaries, which leads to a wider conception of ingroup and a smaller conception, correspondingly, of outgroup. 2. Increase the salience of individual variability by demonstrating the individuating information about people rather than category-based information. (Jones, 1986, p. 308)

Rothbart and John (1985, p. 101) on the other hand argue that in order to counteract stereotypes and resulting prejudice, it is necessary to keep salient the intergroup boundaries so that it is clear about whom the counter-information applies. Thus, although prescriptions are offered, total agreement does not exist among them. That however should not discourage the efforts.

In addition, says Billig (1985, p. 96), "[S]ocial psychologists should attempt to distinguish between prejudiced and tolerant thought," rather than focus only on prejudiced or categorization-produced thought. Following his advice might lead to a more positive perspective and a more general understanding of the processes that operate in the perception of others.

Finally, Pettigrew and Martin (1987), Jones (1986), Billig (1985) and others make the important point that the reason we continue this type of research is for the purpose of ultimately teaching people how to become less prejudiced. Not only should we aim to understand prejudice, but our most important aim should be to use our knowledge for identifying

it, both within ourselves and in others, and taking practical steps to reduce it.

#### Prejudice blindness

A problem that constantly surfaces in the attempt to understand the origins and structure of prejudice and prescriptions for alleviating it is our general lack of awareness of our own prejudice. Although most research evidence supports the idea that all humans are subject to some degree of prejudicial thinking, most people are blind to their own prejudices and biases. Feagin (1991, p. 109) notes that there are prejudices "imbedded in everyday actions," which often accompany "deep, perhaps subconscious" prejudicial responses to individuals belonging to particular categories. Devine (1989) empirically demonstrated that when subjects are primed for stereotype activation beyond their conscious awareness, they produce category-based negative evaluations in response. Thus, stereotype-based thought and behavior were produced or elicited in subjects, which demonstrates that these processes can occur without our personal awareness or sensitivity to it.

The fact that we are often unaware of our prejudices may explain why there are often contradictions between the attitudes we express regarding "outgroups" and the behaviors that we actually exhibit (Kleck et al., 1966; Kleck, 1968; Gaertner, 1976; Stephan, 1985; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986). For example, in the Kleck (1968) and Kleck et al. (1966)

studies, it was shown that while we may express extremely positive attitudes toward outgroups such as the physically handicapped, we tend to display discomfort and avoidant behaviors when actually faced with interacting with them. Although attitudinal-behavior inconsistency has been a problem with attitude research in general, it seems to be an even more pervasive problem with the sensitive issue of prejudice.

The following is an extremely vivid, real-life example of the blindness that we have to our prejudices and the contradictory attitudinal expressions and behaviors that accompany them. Here the denial of the "evil" of prejudice goes hand-in-hand with obvious and biased ingroup favoritism in passages from a purported national news publication that is quoted below. The publication from which the excerpts were gathered was distributed during its sponsors' public get-acquainted meeting held August 17, 1991, in downtown Gainesville, Florida:

COMMITTEE TO FIGHT PREJUDICE NOW . . . PREJUDICE- from the Latin term *prae*, meaning before and *judicium*, meaning judgment. 1. A preconceived, usually unfavorable judgment. 2. An opinion held in disregard of the facts that contradict it: bias. 3. Intolerance of other races, etc. 4. Injury or harm . . . prejudice is indeed an evil that must be stamped out. . . . ARE YOU PREJUDICE[D]? 1. Do you react to stereotypes of people? 2. Do you react to labels that are put on people? 3. Do you gather all the facts before making a decision? 4. Can you tolerate the belief that each race deserves a respect of their own beliefs? 5. Have you taken the time to learn the facts about race? If you answered yes to the first four questions then you are perpetrating the evil of prejudice. . . . learn the facts on the issue of race- don't react to stereotypes,

labels, or what you think you know because of something someone told you. Fight prejudice by contacting your local chapter of: The Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. Learn the truth on racial issues from well informed sources who have studied the issue- then make an informed decision. Learn the truth about this Christian organization and how it stands as the vanguard for all true White Christians during the rapid collapse of our society. (The Klansman, July/August, 1991, p. 12, emphasis in original)

In later passages:

The vast majority of Christians still hold the highest personal moral values, regardless of the attention given to a few lost souls as exemplified in the current anti-Christian, Jewish-influenced mass media. . . . COMMUNISM IS JEWISH. . . . I WILL HELP MAKE AMERICA WHITE & CHRISTIAN AGAIN! (The Klansman, July/August, 1991, p. 12, emphasis in original)

The above passages are more likely the product of the intentional distortion of reality and sheer propaganda so that the most prejudiced of all can try to present themselves as nonprejudiced because being prejudiced is no longer socially acceptable. If this is so, then their behavior might fall more under the rubric of modern forms of prejudice than prejudice blindness. On the other hand, if by chance the authors were being sincere, then clearly they have demonstrated their blindness to their own prejudice. In such a case, the authors, being so defensive of their nonprejudiced identities, have completely rationalized and denied even to themselves their own ingroup favoritism and outgroup prejudice. They appear purblind to their prejudice even to the point that they are quick to ask others if THEY are prejudiced in the above quote.

Most prejudice--particularly in our contemporary society--may not be as obvious as that represented by the KKK above, yet it is still a problem that needs to be continually dealt with until it is completely understood and eradicated. Only a few (it is assumed and hoped) subscribe to a form of prejudice as overt and strong as that represented by Klansmen ideology; nevertheless, the above example is very informative and illustrates an important point: If individuals can justify such overt, strong forms of prejudice, then how much more blind could individuals be to the more subtle, covert forms of prejudice to which they may subscribe or in which they may engage?

Essed (1991) firmly states that there is a blind "massive denial of [prejudice] in this country" (p. 2) and that "dominant group members are . . . generally inclined to deny [prejudice]" (p. viii). "Euro-American culture," says Essed (1991, p. 2), "contains an awkward balance between [prejudiced] and [nonprejudiced] tendencies." She argues, and quite convincingly, that even the social psychological study of racial and ethnic prejudice is conducted from a European American perspective, which underrates African Americans' and ordinary laypersons' insights regarding the experience of prejudice and its varied manifestations. Similar arguments were made by Guthrie (1976) with regards to the study of psychology in general and by Feagin (1991) with regard to the study of racism.

Even when prescriptions to the problem of prejudice are made (e.g., how to become less prejudiced, or how to think less prejudicially), only a select few are likely to consider or believe that the prescriptions apply to them. Also, in the testing situation, few are willing to see themselves as having prejudices, and therefore, it is difficult to assess them as prejudiced or to identify them for the prescription. Thus, before making determinations regarding the problem of specific racial, gender, age, and other prejudices, prejudice may have to first be dealt with in a more general, comprehensive manner (Stephan, 1985). This is advisable because of the lack of conscious awareness that people have of their own prejudice and the defensiveness and outright denial that accompanies the assessment of prejudice. This speaks to the need for a more general and more positive assessment tool. The social-schematic orientation, non-ingroup/outgroup cognition approach is recommended and will be detailed in a later section of this chapter.

#### Theoretical Approaches to the Origins of Prejudice

The three major approaches that are taken on the origins and nature of prejudice are the motivational approach, the sociocultural approach and the cognitive approach. Although most of these approaches tend to overlap across these three areas, an effort has been made to list

the particular approach within the discussion of that which the approach seems to suggest is its major influence.

#### Motivational influences

The motivational approach considers psychodynamic drives and needs, personality characteristics, self-esteem, social comparison processes and other such factors to be important in understanding and making recommendations for alleviating the problem of prejudice (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986).

Basically, the motivational approach assumes that prejudice originates and is perpetuated in order to achieve desired goals (e.g., control of resources) or to satisfy needs, or it occurs as a result of negative feelings or beliefs. (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986, p. 19)

One such theory, the "scapegoat" theory, was discussed by Allport (1954) in his pioneering study of prejudice. This essentially psychodynamic view of the problem holds that prejudice originates out of an ingroup's need to use those who are members of outgroups as a substitute or displacement for the venting of their complaints and frustrations (Peretti & Singletary, 1981). At whichever point the ingroup members are confronted regarding their discriminatory behavior, their responses involve the use of deprecating rationalizations to justify their prejudicial behavior toward the outgroup. Like motivational theories in general (e.g., Freud's psychoanalytic theory) motivational explanations for the etiology of prejudice are difficult to test under controlled, laboratory conditions. Motives,

drives, and needs are not easily measured and manipulated. For this reason, says Stroebe and Insko (1989), "Psychoanalytical and drive theoretical explanations of prejudice . . . simply went out of fashion" (p. 3). Due to methodological difficulties, even interest in Adorno's classic "authoritarian personality" faded with time (Christie, 1991; Stroebe & Insko, 1989, p. 19).

Recent revivals of the motivational perspective in the study of prejudice include Gaertner (1976) and Gaertner and Dovidio's (1986) empirical analysis of the need to maintain either prejudiced (the "dominative racist") or nonprejudiced (the "aversive racist") self-concepts. Their view assumes that "racist feelings and beliefs among white Americans are generally the rule rather than the exception" (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986, p. 61). However, individual people are motivated to handle the prejudice differently. For the aversives, who value an egalitarian-principled self-concept, denial or reaction formation may occur in order to guard their desired self-image, even in the face of their own prejudiced feelings and behaviors. The dominative racists, on the other hand, are motivated to openly express and display their racism. To offer an empirical illustration, Gaertner (1976) used a scenario involving a mis-dialed phone call to homeowners from a distressed motorist who was either African American or European American. He found that those homeowners who espoused egalitarian values were more likely

to--when no one was looking--prematurely hang-up and avoid further contact with an African American than with an European American relative to those homeowners who espoused conservative values. However, those egalitarians who did not hang up prematurely and recognized that help was needed, acted according to the "social responsibility norm" and did not discriminate against the African American caller (Gaertner, 1976, p. 193). In the latter case, the egalitarians were motivated to act in line with prescribed norms and their desired self-concepts.

To summarize Gaertner and Dovidio's extensive empirical research concerning motivational influences on prejudice,

[W]hen norms prescribing appropriate behavior are clear, whites do not exhibit bias against blacks; but, when norms are ambiguous or conflicting, whites do discriminate. . . . [E]ven when norms are clear, whites continue, probably unwittingly . . . to discriminate against blacks, but they do so in ways that do not threaten or challenge their nonprejudiced self-images. (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986, p. 20)

Thus, when in settings where inappropriate behavior towards others is considered taboo, and especially if it is easily visible to others, then it is less likely to occur. However, in situations where the norms are not clear or the behavior may not be visible to others, then the likelihood of behaving in a nonsupportive manner increases.

#### Sociocultural influences

The sociocultural approach takes into consideration the historical, sociocultural, political, economic, conditioning, situational, and media determinants of

prejudice. Accordingly, the focus is on the role of social learning processes that begin when we are infants, processes by which we learn stereotypes, biases and prejudices from others (Hamilton & Trolier, 1986; Berger, 1988; Peretti & Singletary, 1981). Gaertner and Dovidio (1986) address the sociocultural influences of prejudice:

From a sociological perspective, the structure of society tends to perpetuate prejudice and discrimination [because] beliefs about relative status and power become embedded in social roles and norms. These beliefs, in turn, help to maintain the social educational, political, and economic advantages that whites have over blacks. Whites currently have the [sociocultural] advantages relative to blacks in most important aspects of American life: infant mortality, standard of living, educational achievement, socioeconomic status, and life expectancy. (p. 65)

And to their list, I would add the control of information in general. The mass media have a pervasive, often negative, influence on beliefs, attitudes and behaviors in our socioculture (Greenberg & Mazingo, 1976).

Crandall (under review) has identified many of the sociocultural influences on prejudice toward the overweight. Anti-fat beliefs and attitudes are common, socially acceptable, and may originate from a competitive and conservative world view prevalent in our society. Such a view sees obesity as disgusting and almost [sinful] (Crandall, under review, p. 5) and, like any other prejudice, is easily socially learned and transmitted.

Another sociocultural influence involves our identification with significant others including our family,

peers, and role models. The Social Identity Hypothesis (Tajfel & Turner, discussed in Wilder, 1981) holds that prejudice toward others (i.e., the outgroup) comes about as a result of our attempt to become a member of a desired ingroup. Because our attempt to identify with particular groups is based on a need that we have, this theory is often considered to be a motivational one. Nevertheless, one way of establishing oneself as a member of an ingroup is by making it clear, often at the expense of the outgroup, that the ingroup is favored. A part of the social identification process involves the endorsing or the taking on of the values, beliefs, and prejudices that the ingroup possesses toward the outgroup.

To summarize the sociocultural influence of prejudice:

. . . values are transmitted to the members of a society through socialization processes and stereotypes and prejudice are part of this societal heritage. (Stroebe & Insko, 1989, p. 13)

#### Cognitive influences

In contrast to the motivational and sociocultural approaches, the cognitive approach to prejudice is currently considered the most "dominant and empirically fruitful" approach (Stroebe & Insko, p. 3; Stephan, 1985). This approach includes examinations of cognitive schemata, perceiver attention, stimulus salience, assimilation and accommodation processes, ingroup-outgroup bias, and illusory correlations (Stephan, 1985). The cognitive approach seeks explanations for understanding and making recommendations

for the problem of prejudice in terms of categorization process, memory, perceptual, and judgmental biases. This approach, traditionally, has also viewed prejudice as inevitable and necessary with respect to cognitive organization and memory (e.g., Allport, 1954; Hamilton, 1979; Schneider et al., 1979; Kihlstrom & Cantor, 1984).

Some of the empirical contributions of the cognitive approach to understanding prejudice are as follows (adapted from Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986, p. 22-23): 1) The cognitive approach has provided considerable evidence that mere categorization of persons into ingroups and outgroups is sufficient to bring about differential perception and behavior, including favoritism toward the ingroup and discrimination against the outgroup; 2) Even when ingroup-outgroup membership is based upon trivial (random) criteria, the ingroup is credited with more favorable characteristics than the outgroup; 3) The outgroup is seen as more homogeneous than the ingroup making within outgroup differentiations more difficult than between-group discriminations. Therefore, the outgroup members are seen by ingroup members as similar to one another, yet different than the ingroup; 4) Attention to salient or distinctive features (e.g., race, gender, sexual orientation, handicap, etc.) facilitates categorization and leads to more extreme evaluations; 5) These categorization processes and differential perceptions form the bases of outgroup

prejudices; 6) Categorization forms the basis of stereotyping which in turn contributes to outgroup prejudice.

Instances of such cognitively-influenced outgroup prejudice have been empirically observed. For example, Duncan (1976) demonstrated that an identical ambiguous shove was perceived as being a violent act of aggression when performed by an African American, but mere horse-play when performed by a European American. Similar differential perceptions occur with gender. Goldberg (1968) showed that identical scholarly articles were rated higher when attributed to a male author than when attributed to a female author (Goldberg, 1968, discussed in Myers, 1987), however replications of this study have been inconclusive (Swim et al., 1989). Pettigrew and Martin (1987) detail an earlier research study in which subjects observed a contest scenario wherein the race of the questioner and contestant were varied between subjects. What was found was that European-American observers tended to trivialize the impressive performances of the African-American participants as well as the poor performances of the European participants.

Pettigrew and Martin (1987) explain further:

Consistent with culturally prevalent beliefs about the greater intellectual competence of whites, [the subjects] saw the black questioners as lucky, and highly motivated, and the white contestants as anxious, unlucky, and unmotivated. In contrast, the strong performances of the white questioners and the weak performances of the black contestants were more often viewed as indicative of true ability and prior

educational attainment. (Pettigrew & Martin, 1987, p. 64)

Such differential perception and the differential attributions and responses that result have been extensively documented with respect to race and gender in empirical studies. As another example, Word, Zanna and Cooper, (1974) in a classic experiment illustrated that when European Americans were given an interview task, they spent less time with and displayed avoidance behaviors toward the African American participants than they did with the same-race participants. The resulting difference in perceptions in such situations are often explained in terms of ingroup-outgroup differences in the fundamental attribution error. Ingroup positive behaviors or successes are attributed to internal factors such as intelligence, competence, and kindness while ingroup failures are attributed to outside factors such as bad luck. At the same time, the outgroup's successes are attributed to external factors such as good luck rather than intelligence, while their failures are attributed to internal factors such as personality, incompetence, lack of ability, etc. (Linville, 1982).

Differences in perception such as those described above are usually explained by researchers in terms of the ingroup-outgroup bias, however, motivational and sociocultural interpretations can also be made in many cases. Some examples wherein strong sociocultural interpretations have been made would be a case where, in the

1960's, even females rated an identical scholarly article lower when it was attributed to a female author (Goldberg, 1968, cited in Myers, 1987). Or, more recently, when African Americans also perceived an African American shove as more aggressive than an European American shove (Sagar & Schofield, 1980; Ghee, 1987). And similarly, in a 1990 study (Crandall & Biernet), even fat subjects held anti-fat attitudes no differently than did the less fat. Taken together, all of the above described findings would suggest that both cognitive and social factors are relevant and are commingled as they pertain to interpersonal perception.

As discussed earlier, the cognitive approach, traditionally, has viewed prejudice as inevitable and necessary with respect to cognitive organization and memory (e.g., Allport, 1954; Hamilton, 1979; Schneider et al., 1979; Kihlstrom & Cantor, 1984). Many have even defended the use of the cognitive approach almost exclusively (e.g., Hamilton, 1979, 1981; Stephan, 1985; Taylor, 1981). As in the case of Stephan (1985):

I have emphasized the cognitive approach to intergroup relations . . . this area is the one in which the greatest advances in our knowledge have occurred. The cognitive approach also makes it possible to broaden the focus beyond the traditional topics of prejudice and stereotyping to include a wider range of cognitions and their role in information processing and overt behavior. (p. 600)

However, in more recent years some have challenged this heavy and exclusive reliance upon cognitive explanations

(e.g., Sorrentino & Higgins, 1986; Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986; Pettigrew, 1981; Billig, 1985).

There are four arguments that may not support the above inevitability of prejudice beliefs:

1) Prejudice may not be categorization-dependent.

Some researchers have argued that prejudice depends not so much on the act of cognitive categorization of stimuli as "similar" or "different" (i.e., ingroup vs. outgroup) itself, but rather on the particular affective or attitudinal evaluation of the group to which the stimuli has been categorized. These more individualized evaluations are more motivational and sociocultural, can range in type and intensity, and do not fit quite as well into the prejudice-as-an-interrelated-or broad tendency conclusion (Zajonc, 1980; Pettigrew, 1981).

2) Categorization may not be prejudice-resultant.

Categorizing someone as different may not necessarily cause one to avoid or discriminate against them, and being prejudiced toward one outgroup does not necessarily predispose you to being prejudice toward other outgroups. There may be only particular outgroups that elicit prejudicial feelings and behaviors from any given individual. And even when thoughts that are typically associated with prejudice (such as negative stereotypes) are elicited, they do not always result in prejudiced responses (Devine, 1989). In line with this, Billig (1985)

questioned, what is causing what when it comes to prejudice? He proposes that not only might prejudice fail to be the result of categorization, but that instead, categorization might be the result of a very basic (motivational, affective, or sociocultural) form of prejudice.

In much of the work of the categorization theorists there is an implication that the perceptual processes are in some way the more 'basic' processes and as such are the causes of prejudice. . . . However, in the case of prejudice, there may be just as good a case, if not better, for considering the so-called 'basic' perceptual processes as effects of prejudice, rather than its causes. (Billig, 1985, p. 84)

In other words, instead of categorization causing prejudice, perhaps prejudice causes categorization.

3) Categorization may not be the only cognitive response to dealing with social stimuli. Not only may some categorizations fail to result in ingroup/outgroup bias, but categorization may not be the general cognitive response all the time. Billig (1985) again raises the issue of the assumed inevitability of prejudice by arguing that categorization has been so highly focused upon in the literature that we've overlooked the possibility of an opposing process which he terms "particularization". As he states, his view does not equate prejudiced thinking with rigid categorization, nor does he buy into the inevitability of prejudice. He presents a rational argument for why categorization and particularization may occur simultaneously during dialectical thought processes. His argument can basically be interpreted as an assimilation and

accommodation process working together in a complementary manner during social judgements and interactions. Either categorization or particularization, when relied upon to an extreme, can lead to prejudice.

Billig's argument is very much in line with the pilot data findings that preceded the present study, and which are presented in Chapter 3 of this study. When subjects were asked to rate how informative specific categories or labels were to them upon anticipating the meeting a series of hypothetical strangers, a principal factor analysis revealed evidence for both a global categorical information valuation factor and smaller specific factors. That is, all responses loaded significantly upon one factor, and also latent specific category valuation factors (e.g., gender, ethnicity, and occupation informational value factors). Thus, the interrelatedness vs. specificity of prejudice argument, may not have an either-one-or-other solution, but rather a both-or-neither solution.

4) Prejudice behavior may not be normal and inevitable for everyone. Devine (1989) addresses the issue of stereotyping and prejudice being automatic processes by empirically distinguishing between the automatic and the controlled components of prejudice in low and high prejudiced subjects. Using the Modern Racism Scale (McConahay et al., 1981), subjects were divided into high and low prejudiced subjects. The study demonstrated that

all of the subjects were equally knowledgeable of the stereotypes typically associated with a particular culture, however, they differed in their tendency to subconsciously endorse or express the stereotypes. The low-prejudiced subjects demonstrated controlled inhibition of stereotyped thoughts, whereas the high-prejudiced subjects exhibited uninhibited, unconscious stereotyping associated with racial stimulus words (Devine, 1989). The low-prejudiced subjects even replace their likely-inhibited stereotypic responses with "thoughts reflecting equality and negations of the stereotype" (Devine, 1989, p. 5), thus demonstrating all the more that not all prejudice is necessarily automatic, inevitable, and uncontrollable. There may be those that are more prejudice-conscious and thus attempt to control and compensate for their biases while others do not. Thus, to summarize Devine's position: We all have knowledge of, and perhaps a propensity for, prejudice; however, what distinguishes those who behave in a prejudiced manner from those who do not is the individual management or control of the prejudice tendency.

Prior to the challenges to the prejudice-as-inevitable school of thought there appears to have been an assumption that we need not overly burden ourselves with motivational, socialization, and personality explanations when we examine social psychological thought and behavior. An example of a

recent challenge to the exclusive-cognitive approach can be found in Billig's (1985) work:

In much of the work of the categorization theorists there is an implication that the perceptual processes are in some way the more 'basic' processes and as such are the causes of prejudice. . . . However, in the case of prejudice, there may be just as good a case, if not better, for considering the so-called 'basic' perceptual processes as effects of prejudice, rather than its causes. If one wishes to argue that prejudice is the outcome of an individual's arrangement of the stimulus world, one is faced by an immediate difficulty: how to explain prejudice against groups, members of which the individual has never encountered? In such cases, prejudice cannot possibly be based upon perceptual experience. For example, the existence of anti-semitism in countries without Jews . . . cannot simply and economically be explained by models of perceptual classification, since the anti-semitic in such countries would never have perceived a single Jew. The prejudiced belief might possibly become a means of organizing perception, but a perceptual model, which tried to trace the belief back to a simplification of perceptual data, would appear to add little to an understanding of the origins of the belief.

In sum, cognitive, motivational and sociocultural explanations of prejudice have traditionally been put forth in the literature as different and competing views, and more recently as complementary in many ways. Some of the more contemporary approaches that have been described tend to recognize that neither approach provides an exclusive explanation for the development and maintenance of prejudice. Rather, each approach elucidates a different aspect of this complex and multidimensional phenomenon. An eclectic approach considers, and attempts to integrate, cognitive, motivational and sociocultural factors when explaining prejudice (e.g., Stroebe & Insko, 1989).

### The Interrelatedness of Prejudices

Another way of approaching the nature of prejudice is in terms of whether it is a feeling or an attitude that we carry for specific categories of people or objects, or whether it is a general way of thinking about or being oriented toward most people or objects that either we do or don't carry? Prejudice, for the purpose of this study, has been defined as a relatively negative evaluation based on category membership. An attempt to answer the question of the interrelatedness of prejudices involves examining individual prejudice responses across a wide range of social stimuli, particularly outgroups and analyzing the responses for an interrelated or global prejudice factor.

In the past forty years, social psychology has seen a sharp cognitive swing that supported the idea that humans, by virtue of their information processing limitations, have a tendency to categorize. Categorization is a means by which we simplify our worlds. Categorization involves organizing our perceptions by clustering objects and people into groups. Once we have organized people into categories in our mind, then we can think and remember information about them more easily. A major cost of this categorization tendency is that it often leads to prejudicial attitudes and behaviors (Hamilton, 1979; Schneider et al., 1979; Kihlstrom & Cantor, 1981).

Researchers have consistently demonstrated that cognitive processes such as categorization are sufficient for bringing about stereotyping, prejudice and discriminatory behavior, especially toward those who are considered members of "outgroups" as discussed in the previous section (Tajfel, 1969; Hamilton, 1979; Taylor, 1981; Wilder, 1981; Linville, 1980; Pettigrew, 1981; Fiske & Taylor, 1984; Stephan, 1985). It was also discovered that any human social stimulus could, for one reason or another, be considered a member of an "outgroup", even for extremely trivial reasons such as supposed performance on dot estimation tasks or random assignment to team groups, etc. (Tajfel, 1969; Hamilton, 1979). Thus, in principle, anyone outside of oneself could be considered a member of an outgroup and, as such, become subject to prejudice and discrimination. It is for this reason that Tajfel believed it theoretically feasible that when persons are prejudiced, they possess a consistent and relatively constant tendency for prejudice that could be aimed toward or elicited by most human stimuli, especially those that could be categorized as different (i.e., members of "outgroups").

There appears to be a general agreement between Allport (1954) and Tajfel (1969) that a portion of the problem of prejudice itself lies within the natural cognitive categorization processes which we tend to apply to all stimuli, human and otherwise, that we encounter. The

empirical investigations previously presented (e.g., Hamilton, 1979; Wilder, 1981) have theoretically and empirically supported this conclusion. Thus, our prejudices may not come about so much because of our real-life experiences and objective data that we've accumulated, but rather because of our high or low tendency to categorize. Given this, people that display racial or gender prejudices are likely to display similar prejudices toward a variety of categories of people especially if they are perceived as "outgroup" members. It is largely upon this cognitive view that this study and hypotheses are based. Prejudiced thought and less prejudiced thought, though traditionally difficult to measure, are seen as cognitive tendencies that are held across a variety of stimuli that are considered outgroups. However, it must also be noted that socialization processes play a significant role in development as to the perception of which persons are outgroup members.

The interrelatedness-of-prejudice position has received empirical support by the existence of significant correlations in peoples prejudice towards different and distinct outgroups. Thomas Pettigrew (1981) makes the point that there are exceptionally high correlations amongst outgroup prejudices, including racism, sexism, and heterosexism. Heterosexism, a newer area of study, is defined as the belief that everyone is heterosexual and that

heterosexual relationships are preferred and necessary for the preservation of the family, particularly the nuclear family (Dworkin & Gutierrez, 1992). Heterosexism is considered by some scholars to be institutionalized through religion, education, and the media and leads to homophobia (Dworkin & Gutierrez, 1992). Pettigrew (1981) does not overlook the cultural and motivational influences nor the developmental aspects of this interrelatedness of different prejudices such as racism, sexism and heterosexism. He states: "These strong [prejudicial intercorrelations] probably relate to the fact that racism and sexism share deep roots in early socialization" (Pettigrew, 1981, p.105).

Bierly (1985) administered a homosexual attitude scale; a gender attitude scale (i.e., to assess such stereotyped attitudes as 'women should stay in their traditional place'); a racial attitude scale; and two age attitude scales to three hundred and nine European American male and female undergraduate students. Nine of the ten possible intercorrelations were found to be positive and significant. Therefore, in her study, racial prejudice correlated significantly with prejudice against women ( $r=.44$ ,  $p=.001$ ), prejudice against homosexuals ( $r=.45$ ,  $p=.001$ ) and one of the measures of prejudice against the aged ( $r=.26$ ,  $p=.001$ ). Likewise, homosexual prejudice (i.e., "heterosexism") also correlated significantly with prejudice against women ( $r=.55$ ,  $p=.001$ ), and both of the ageism measures ( $r=.23$ ,

$p=.001$  and  $r=.14$ ,  $p=.008$ ). Prejudice against women or sexism correlated with both of the ageism measures ( $r=.30$ ,  $p=.001$  and  $r=.15$ ,  $p=.004$ ). The two different ageism measures correlated with one another ( $r=.35$ ,  $p=.001$ ). Given these significant outgroup prejudice intercorrelations, Bierly suggests that prejudice toward distinct outgroups may be a generalized attitude. The lower intercorrelations associated with the ageist attitudes suggest that the elderly may not be perceived at the same level of outgroup membership in our society as are African Americans, homosexuals and the modern woman.

Henley and Pincus (1978) had obtained intercorrelational findings similar to those previously discussed. Two-hundred and eleven male and female, mostly European American undergraduates were administered a 7-point questionnaire that measured racial, sexual, and homosexual attitudes. While the male and female subjects differed significantly only in there sexism scores, all of there scores nonetheless correlated with their racism and heterosexism scores. The intercorrelations ranged from  $r=.44$  to  $r=.69$ , and were all significant at the  $p<.001$  level. Weigel and Howes (1985) obtained similar results wherein significant correlations were found between racial prejudice and heterosexism,  $r=.74$ ,  $p<.01$ , and between racial prejudice and ageism,  $r=.52$ ,  $p<.01$ .

Woudenberg (1977) had previously obtained similar findings when he administered two racism and one sexism scales to three-hundred and fifty European American male college students. The correlations amongst the scales ranged from  $r=.57$  to  $r=.73$ , with all  $p$ 's  $<.001$ .

To further illustrate the range and interrelatedness of prejudices, Crandall (under review) found that anti-fat prejudicial attitudes were positively correlated with both Modern Racism ( $r=.32$ ,  $p<.0001$ ) and Authoritarianism ( $r=.29$ ,  $p<.005$ ). Crandall and Biernet (1990) found a significant correlation between anti-fat attitudes and authoritarianism,  $r=.41$ ,  $p<.001$ . Crandall concludes (under review, p. 26), "Fat people appear to be just one more of a long list of [out]groups who are stigmatized by the intolerant."

Thus, given the seemingly interrelated nature amongst prejudices, it is apparent that our prejudices may go beyond any specific group or two with which one feels an aversion or dislike. Weigel and Howes (1985) summarize this line of thought nicely:

That is, racial prejudice may be but one manifestation of a generalized tendency to disparage any group perceived as challenging the legitimacy of the established social order (e.g. women, homosexuals). . . prejudice involves a generalized framework for response to all outgroups, regardless of the individual's personal experience with any given group. (Weigel & Howes, 1985, p. 126)

Prejudice thus may be associated with a general cognitive orientation as suggested in the literature reviewed. One purpose of this study is to further

demonstrate a general prejudice tendency operationalized as desire to avoid, aimed at a large set of outgroups.

#### Individual Differences in Prejudice

Given the previously described "inevitability" view of prejudice-like behavior, studies of individual differences in prejudice appear to have waned in recent years compared to the post War World II, post Holocaust interest that further generated the Authoritarian and Dogmatic prejudiced personality research. This may be attributed to the emergence within social psychology over the past forty years of an emphasis on the situational determinants of behavior and laboratory-oriented research with a decrease in emphasis on the cultural, personality and individual cognitive style determinants of behavior (Christie, 1991).

Thus, the dominant view of prejudice was that categorization and stereotyping tendencies superseded cultural, personality and other influences. There was one major exception however. Adorno et al. (1950), Rokeach (1960) and others (reviewed in Christie, 1991) made extraordinary gains in the area of prejudice and personality with the Authoritarian Personality (Adorno et al., 1950) and the Dogmatic Personality (Rokeach, 1960). However, due to methodological concerns and the one-sidedness of their instruments, even their work has had to endure immense criticism (Christie, 1991). For example, it has been argued

that such instruments are particularly vulnerable to social desirability concerns because most people are reluctant to admit their prejudice. Thus, few subjects score high on such scales. However, those that do score high are considered to be the true Authoritarians or Dogmatics. In addition, the questions are stated so as to identify negative, prejudicial, narrow kind of thinking without providing antithetical positive, less prejudiced, open kind of thinking response choices (Billig, 1985; Christie, 1991). Today, some seem to consider these works to be like an old great cannon that is to be forever treasured; we stand back and admire it, but we may not regularly use it anymore. Authoritarianism will be discussed in more detail in a subsequent section as an antithesis to less prejudiced thought.

Two authors that attempted to measure individual differences in one's liking or disliking of people in general was Phillips (1951) and Fey (1955) with their "[General] Acceptance of Others" instruments (reviewed in Wrightsman, 1991). Their interest in the concept involved a test of the interrelatedness between self-acceptance, acceptability to others, and acceptance of others. Their questionnaire items were framed in terms of how one responds to people in general rather than to a specific outgroup or range of specific outgroups.

There are some modern works that attempt to examine individual differences in prejudice. Devine (1989), for example, dealt with the issue of individual prejudice styles by attempting to distinguish between her low and her high prejudiced-styled subjects. Thus, Devine did not assume that all subjects were inevitably prone to prejudice. Devine used the increasingly popular Modern Racism Scale (McConahay et. al, 1981) to divide subjects into high and low prejudiced groups. The low-prejudiced subjects tended to demonstrate controlled inhibition of stereotyped thoughts, while the high-prejudiced subjects tended to exhibit uninhibited, unconscious stereotyping associated with racial stimulus words. The low-prejudiced subjects inhibited stereotypic responses and replaced them with non-stereotypical ones (Devine, 1989, p. 5).

The present study includes an examination of individual differences in the aforementioned prejudice tendency across a wide range of outgroup stimuli. Prejudice as an individual tendency will be assumed and tested rather than focusing on the individual differences in prejudice aimed at or elicited by one outgroup. Traditional measures of prejudice are no longer adequate for observing and understanding prejudice. Newer, alternative approaches are needed.

### The Seeking of an Alternative Method of Studying Prejudice

In this section of the review of the literature, the need for a different approach to the study of prejudice will be suggested. Non-ingroup/outgroup orientation and acceptance of diversity will be defined, and cognitive-schematic approaches theoretically considered to be related to the non-ingroup/outgroup tendency will be examined, as an alternative approach to the study of prejudice.

#### Three Reasons for a Different Approach

There is a need for a different approach to the study of prejudice for the following reasons:

##### More comprehensive measures are needed

Recent studies that examine individual differences in prejudice tend to focus on one type of prejudice, or rather, prejudice aimed at or elicited by only one outgroup. For example, McConahay (1986) and Devine (1989) focus on prejudice elicited by racial outgroups. Studies by Kleck (1966 & 1968) and Kleck et al. (1966) involved prejudice elicited by the handicapped. Crandall (under review) focuses on prejudice aimed at the overweight. Phillips (1951) and Fey (1955), rather than dealing with prejudices aimed at specific outgroups, examines individual differences in prejudices toward humans as a general category. Triandis (1960), Long et al. (1966), Woudenberg (1977), Henley and Pincus (1978), and Bierly (1985), combined,

examine individual and demographic differences in socioeconomic, religious, gender, racial, national, homosexual, and age, prejudices. Yet, a general outgroup prejudicial tendency has not been examined. A more encompassing and global perspective is suggested in the present study. First, a general outgroup prejudicial tendency will be examined. Then individual differences in any such general or specific tendencies will be explored.

When examining individual differences in prejudice, a broader measure is also needed. Most measures of prejudice such as those mentioned in the previous paragraph attempt to measure a particular prejudicial attitude while inferring an antithetical or less prejudiced attitude. Thus, typically, nonprejudice is measured in terms of low score responses to prejudicial statements. In cases where anti-prejudiced statements are included (e.g., "It is easy to understand the anger of black people in America" (McConahay, 1986, p. 104) then prejudice is assumed based on a low score response to an anti-prejudice statement. A measure is needed that is low in reactivity and yet allows for both prejudiced and/or less prejudiced responses. This would eliminate the need to infer one response (e.g., prejudice) based upon another (e.g., an anti-prejudiced statement).

Less reactive measures are needed

As discussed in an earlier section, prejudice is a difficult topic to study because it is of a seemingly

subconscious and defensive nature. Often we are not aware of our prejudices and/or are reluctant to admit them. As Dovidio and Gaertner (1986, p. 9) point out in their discussion of racial prejudice:

Research on stereotyping further indicates that people's responses on self-report measures [of prejudice] are often systematically distorted to appear less biased than they are. . . . [Even] people who are sincerely committed to egalitarian ideals do not recognize the extent to which they are racially prejudiced.

Gaertner (1976, p. 183) states that subjects react strongly to prejudice scales and experiments, which sacrifices the naturalness, spontaneity, and even the integrity of their behavior when being tested. Stephan (1985, pp. 625-628), Dutton (1976, p. 99), Kleck (1966, p. 27) and Kleck et al. (1966, p. 435) have made similar observations.

The Modern Racism scale elicits less reactivity than conventional measures of prejudice such as Authoritarianism, yet it is not without its reaction difficulties (McConahay, 1986, p. 114-115). For example, Crandall (under review, p. 28) found that his subjects "regularly commented on items from the Modern Racism scale." Even the presence of an African American experimenter or participant can lead some subjects to be reluctant to act on or express their prejudices "for fear of disapproval" (Stephan, 1985, p. 625). This of course, illustrates even more the need for a different, more positive approach to the study of the problem of prejudice.

There is another problem that is faced when using attitudinal measures of prejudice, and it may be related to the reactivity problem addressed above. The average attitude-behavior correlation amongst eighty-three various research studies in psychology is  $r=.38$ , with a combined significance level well below  $p<.001$ , "revealing that attitudes significantly and substantially predict future behavior" (Kraus, 1991, p. 7). However, the attitude-behavior correlations concerning prejudice are significantly reduced. For example, the prejudicial attitude-behavior studies in the Kraus (1991) meta-analysis reveal an  $r=.22$  average attitude-behavior correlation amongst its eighteen studies of race-related prejudice (the correlations ranged from  $r=.00-.51$ ). Although the maximum attitude-behavior correlation found amongst the studies of racial prejudice was  $r=.51$ ,  $p<.05$ , the majority of the correlations were nonsignificant (56%). Forty-four percent of these racial-related attitude studies had non-significant correlations of  $r=.10$  and below. The other sixty-five studies that were included in Klaus's (1991) meta-analysis revealed considerably more attitude-behavior consistency. These attitude-behavior studies ranged in topic interest for example from legalizing marijuana, cheating, contraceptive use, smoking, religious involvement, seat-belt use, to approaching and handing snakes. No other topic evidenced lower attitude-behavior correlations than those found in

forty-four percent of the prejudice studies except attitude-behavior studies related to cheating ( $r=.03$ ) and weight loss ( $r=.10$ ).

Thus, the evidence indicates that what people report as their attitudes regarding outgroups may not match their interactive behavior with members of outgroups, particularly when the outgroups are racial. Similar evidence from other sources includes the Gaertner (1976) and Dovidio and Gaertner (1981) studies wherein no correlation was found between subjects expressed beliefs and attitudes toward African Americans and their willingness to assist them in a helping situation. Stephan (1985) makes additional, important observations regarding the Gaertner (1976) and Dovidio and Gaertner (1981) line of research as he attempts to offer explanations for the attitude-behavior inconsistency:

Overall, blacks were helped more frequently than whites by the white subjects in this study, but blacks in higher-status positions were helped less than those in lower-status positions, suggesting that whites responded most favorably to blacks occupying positions consistent with cultural stereotypes of blacks' social status. . . . The primary source of inconsistent findings in these studies of helping comes from subjects who were low in expressed levels of prejudice. Numerous investigators have suggested that whites' attitudes toward blacks are often a mixture of sympathy for the underdog and feelings of aversion. . . . Nonprejudiced attitudes may be expressed by these people because they find such attitudes more acceptable within their own value systems and would prefer to have others regard them as unprejudiced. (Stephan, 1985, p. 626)

The finding of low correlations between prejudiced attitudes and behaviors is not surprising given that this has been a problem with research on attitudes in general. The schematic-cognitive orientation approach, which will be introduced, is perhaps a more direct, more predictive and surely less reactive method for assessing ones prejudicial tendencies.

A more positive approach to the study of prejudice is needed

Prejudice, as normally defined, inherently infers something negative (though useful according to some researchers). As previously discussed, because of the negative wording of many of the questions, subjects are often offended and defensive in response to the questions. For example, "Over the past few years, blacks have gotten more economically than they deserve", and "Blacks are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights" (McConahay, 1986). Also, these types of instruments are almost exclusively used to obtain information regarding the prejudice of European American subjects to the exclusion of subjects of color. I can recall sitting in a class of about 40 students where such an instrument was being issued. Only two African American students were in the class. The instrument administrator openly singled out and instructed the two African American students to not participate in the study, "It [was] for White students only." Couldn't such an interchange itself affect the other subjects responses to

questions such as, "Discrimination against blacks is no longer a problem in the United States", and "Blacks should not push themselves where they are not wanted" (McConahay, 1986)? Further, ethnic demographic comparisons to subjects responses are limited and even inappropriate because the questions certainly have different meaning for European American and African American subjects. For example, one item from the ProBlack Scale was mildly changed for use in the current study for this very reason. The item originally stated, "The typical urban ghetto public school is not as good as it should be to provide equal opportunities for Blacks" (Katz & Hass, 1990, p. 905). The use of the word "ghetto" may have different meanings and connotations for subjects of different cultural backgrounds. For the purpose of the current study this question was re-worded to: "The typical urban inner-city public school . . .", leaving out the possibly offensive word ghetto and replacing it with the word "inner-city".

With the methods utilized in the current study, circumvention of the reactive, social desirability problems associated with conventional prejudice measures was attempted. This approach attempted to focus more on the positive outcomes of avoiding "us vs. them" thinking, rather than focusing upon what individuals are doing mal-productively based on prejudicial statements such as those mentioned above.

### The Schema Approach as an Alternative Approach to Prejudice

One approach that can be applied to the study of prejudice employs self-social schemas. First, an explanation of the self-social schema approach background, theory and application will be discussed. That discussion will begin with a discussion of cognitive schemata as representations of others. Then the discussion will turn to schemata which contain knowledge and theories pertaining to one's own self. Finally, within this section, the relevance, usefulness, and application of the schema approach to the study of prejudice will be discussed.

#### Representations of others

The central concept of the self-social schema approach is that of a schema. A schema is a cognitive representation consisting of knowledge or theories pertaining to an object or person. (Bartlett, 1932; Markus, 1977; Markus & Sentis, 1982; Stephan, 1985; Fiske & Taylor, 1984). Many authors note the multi-functional aspects of cognitive schemata (Stephan, 1985; Fiske & Taylor, 1984; Markus & Wurf, 1986; Markus, 1980; Markus, 1977; Markus & Sentis, 1982; Markus, Crane et al., 1982; Swann, 1985; Hull & Levy, 1979). For example, Stephan (1985) describes the functions of schemata as follows:

Schemata are cognitive structures consisting of the representation of knowledge concerning a stimulus domain. . . . This knowledge serves to focus the perceiver's attention. It also structures what is perceived and provides interpretations for behavior.

Scripts are schemata for episodic sequences of behavior in particular types of social situations. . . . Generally speaking, schemata, scripts, and expectancies influence the processing of information by guiding attention, by structuring encoding, and by determining what information is most likely to be retained, how it will be stored, and the degree to which it will subsequently be available. (Stephan, 1985, p. 604)

Taylor and Fiske (1984) define a schema as a cognitive structure that represents organized knowledge about a given concept or type of stimulus. Again, schemata serve the function of guiding and processing the perception of new information, memory for old information, and providing the basis for inferences that go beyond both.

The schematic function accounts for the active construction of reality in our day to day perceptions. One outcome of schemata functioning, as shown by a diversity of studies, is that people do not use all of the information available to them when making judgements about others. Further, people tend to weigh some information more heavily than other information (Schneider et al., 1979). In these instances, schemata may provide shortcuts for making judgements. Pettigrew and Martin's (1987) study offers a vivid example of such schematic biases. Their extensive investigation indicated that schematic functioning may cause veteran European-American employees to often seek out and remember facts about new African-American personnel that are consistent with their low expectations of them as a group. "And later, through both encoding and retrieval biases, white employees may be more likely to recall those aspects

of black employees' behavior most consistent with their initial stereotypes and expectations" (Pettigrew & Martin, 1987, p. 61). Their research further indicated that European-Americans may be more approving of low-performing African-American workers than those that are high-performing because low performance is more in line with the schematic image that is often held of African-Americans. Thus, the low-performing African-American may be more likely to earn a good performance evaluation than a high-performing African-American.

Gaertner and Dovidio (1986, p. 73-77) were two of the first to explore the above trend, and found it evidenced especially when the evaluation was aimed at an African-American in a high-status (e.g., supervisory), as opposed to a subordinate, position. Feagin (1991) suggests that the higher-status African-American is more likely to encounter negative responses and encounters from European-Americans because they are the African-Americans that are entering arenas from which they were formerly excluded. This repudiation of the non-schematic African-American was visible in the Gaertner and Dovidio (1986) study irrespective of the subjects' responses to traditional and modern racism attitudinal items.

Another characteristic of schemata is that generally, they are resistant to change. It is easier to fit new information into existing schemata by way of selective

attention, rationalizations, etc. (i.e., assimilation) than it is to change the highly organized schemata to fit new information (i.e., accommodation). For this reason, people may generally have more difficulty liking or accepting those who do not fit the schematic image that is held of members of that particular group, as in the example given in the previous paragraph. An accommodative change in the cognitive schema or even the network of related cognitive schemata including the beliefs and affect would be required in order for true acceptance to be attained.

#### Representations of the self

Epstein (1973) likens the self-concept to an all-encompassing "scientific theory" that people hold about themselves. One's own self-theory is based upon the self-investigations of one's past experiences, empirical observations and behavioral evidence. Self-schemata are the individual mental images, thoughts, and scripts that make up one's self-concept. Self-schemata can consist of ways that one has of thinking about oneself, including the theories, mental representations, and cognitive organizations that one has concerning oneself. According to Markus (1977) and Kihlstrom and Cantor (1984), the mental node that represents the self may be the richest node in the memory network and may also be the best organized one. Self-schematic cognitive organization is a critical process which entails selective attention to various social and non-social objects

through cognitive discrimination and is a fundamental link in explaining human behavior (Ziller, 1988). The self and its related schemata are responsible for achieving a typically large degree of unity and coherence in one's personal knowledge structure (Greenwald & Pratkanis, 1984).

Just as representations of others can be difficult to change, so can representations of the self. Thus, schemata are relatively continuous and stable, yet necessarily dynamic and capable of change:

. . . the self-concept has been viewed as dynamic-- as active, forceful, and capable of change. It interprets and organizes self-relevant actions and experiences; it has motivational consequences, providing the incentive, standards, plans, rules, and scripts for behavior; and it adjusts in response to challenges from the social environment . . . the self-concept [is] one of the most significant regulators of behavior... the self-concept can no longer be explored as if it were a unitary, monolithic entity. (Markus & Wurf, 1987, p. 299-300)

While the self-concept is viewed as a collection of self-schemata, a distinction must be made between it and the working self-concept. The "working self-concept" is that subset of self-schemata which is accessible at a given moment having been activated depending upon the prevailing social circumstances, salient situational stimuli and/or individual motivational states (Markus & Wurf, 1987, p. 314). As such, the working self-concept is a specific set of self-schemata drawn from the self-concept that guides and regulates the individual's day to day actions and reactions intrapersonally and interpersonally.

While self-schemata are similar to other schemata in many aspects, they may also differ in several aspects. Some of the features that may distinguish self-schemata from other schemata are their size and range, their greater complexity, their interconnectedness, their frequency of activation and their associated affect (Markus & Sentis, 1982). Related to these features are the following empirically based information processing consequences of self-schemata:

1. Individuals show a heightened sensitivity to self-relevant stimuli . . . 2. Self-congruent stimuli are efficiently processed [including] more accurate discrimination in self-relevant domains . . . 3. Self-relevant stimuli show enhanced recall and recognition . . . 4. Individuals make confident behavioral predictions, attributions, and inferences in self-relevant domains . . . 5. Individuals are resistant to information that is incongruent with the self-structure. (Markus & Wurf, 1987, p. 316-317).

Another feature of self-conceptions and accompanying schemata is that people attempt to confirm their goals and self-conceptions. As an example, studies of partners reveal that people are most attracted to and satisfied with partners who confirm their self-conceptions (Swann, 1985) as well as validate their desired selves (Schlenker, 1980 & 1985). Self-schemata guide the self-concept and goal confirmation process in our day to day interactions and decision-making. Markus and Wurf (1987) explain:

People have knowledge of situations . . . as well as of themselves. Both types of knowledge, as well as individual goals, importantly determine that person's situational choices. . . . Self-conceptions and goals

also determine choice of and behavior in personal relationships. (Markus & Wurf, 1987, p. 324-325)

Nearly all of the above points were demonstrated by Markus (1977) wherein it was found that subjects who self-rated themselves as "independent" also endorsed more adjectives related to independence than did other subjects, required shorter processing times for making such endorsements, were able to supply more specific examples of their independent behaviors, were more predictive of future independent behavior, and were resistant to discrepant information regarding their independence. Similar patterns of results were found with those who rated themselves as dependent with respect to dependent self-schemata. In contrast, the aschematics (those who did not rated themselves as either independent or dependent) did not differ in their processing times for independent and dependent words, had more difficulty supplying specific examples of independent or dependent behavior, were predictive equally of independent and dependent behavior, and were not resistant to information regarding their independence or dependence. Markus, Crane et al. (1982) obtained similar findings amongst masculine schematic, feminine schematic, and androgynous schematic subjects.

Studies reviewed by Markus and Sentis (1982, p. 58) indicate that we are also likely to rely upon our self-schemata while making judgements about strangers. When making judgements about others based upon limited

information, we classify them according to the schemata that are important and relevant to our own self-concepts. Thus, those who have independence as a characteristic central to their self-concept, may tend to use independence as a criteria for judging unfamiliar others. Similarly, Hamill (1980, cited in Markus & Sentis, 1982) demonstrated that independents had greater recall memory for stimuli that they encoded as looking independent than when they encoded stimuli based on a physical feature such as wide eyes.

#### Application of the self-schematic approach to the study of prejudice

Within the context of the study of prejudice, it would be useful to use a self-schematic approach to examine the presence or absence of prejudice related schemata in the form of the presence or absence of ingroup-outgroup orientation amongst subjects. The self-schematic approach would attempt to examine subjects' self-social schemata as they pertain to their schemas for social behavior.

It is necessary that prejudice be examined as a concept that is integrated within the self-schematic organizational structure (i.e., the self-concept), rather than from a distant-attitudinal-object approach that is characteristic of the study of prejudice. By examining prejudice as part of the self-schema concept structure and associated acceptance of diversity, we may aim in a more balanced way at its presence or absence. A better understanding and the development of a prescription for the problem of prejudice

might be accomplished by seeking what may be considered prejudice and less prejudice related self-schemata and cognitive styles that people possess, along with offering the hope of a general information processing approach to the study of prejudice. Such an approach will now be presented.

#### Toward a Less Prejudiced Cognitive Style: Universal Orientation

What is known about prejudiced thought and behavior will be utilized as a springboard for understanding what it may mean to not be prejudiced. As discussed earlier, prejudice has been defined as a relatively negative evaluation based on category membership. It is often associated with ingroup-outgroup judgements, and may lead to negative behavioral outcomes. It is conceptualized in the social psychological literature as an outcome of our natural ingroup-outgroup categorization tendencies. Some researchers have associated it with a certain intolerance of differences and a close-mindedness of thought (Adorno, 1950; Rokeach, 1960; Sorrentino & Short, 1986). While there is probably no such thing as complete non-prejudice, using what is known regarding prejudice, self-schemata for less prejudiced thought will be proposed, and collectively will be termed universal orientation. The non-ingroup/outgroup cognitive tendency which is central to the hypotheses of this study is based upon particular components of universal orientation, and will be more specifically discussed after

the eight cognitive correlates of universal orientation are presented.

#### Defining universal orientation

Unlike definitions and measures of prejudice, definitions and measures concerning the meaning of not being prejudiced (or any similar concept) are not directly offered within the social psychological literature. The current handbook of social psychological measures, Measures of Personality and Social Psychological Attitudes (Robinson et al., 1991) contains over 165 measures of social psychological attitudes. Sixteen of these can be considered fairly classic measures of prejudice and are collected together in one chapter of the handbook, e.g., Authoritarian Scale and Anti-Semitism Scale (Christie, 1991). No corresponding chapter relating to less prejudiced attitude measures is offered. And upon examining the collection of 165 scales, only one appears to measure attitudes that are in the direction of nonprejudice, i.e., the Acceptance of Others Scale (Wrightsman, 1991). In this case however, the acceptance of others concept deals more with general trust in others than acceptance of others. And while today, "acceptance of diversity" is a popular phrase and hot topic, no social psychological measures have as of yet been widely offered. Widely utilized books devoted to techniques and methods for fostering and increasing acceptance of a diversity of others include many wonderful carefully

researched ideas and suggestions, but no measures (e.g., Derman-Sparks et al., 1989).

Subtle suggestions are offered in the literature terms of what behaviors would indicate a move in a direction away from prejudiced thought and behavior. Stephan (1985, p. 609, 638), Amir (1981, p. 245) and Katz (1981) suggest that recognition of outgroup diversity and equal status contact are congruent with nonprejudice. Linville's (1980 & 1982) research has supported the idea of the importance of diversity recognition in the reduction of prejudice in the form of extremity of evaluation toward outgroups.

Devine (1989, p. 15) argues that the intentional, controlled, conscious decision to behave in a less prejudiced fashion with new responses being learned and well practiced to serve as competitive responses to automatic, prejudicial thinking navigates one into the direction of nonprejudiced thinking. Hodge (1989, p. 47) suggests that less prejudiced thought consists of a move in a direction away from evaluative thought and criticism toward others, and that such thought can be taught and induced.

Wilder (1981, p. 233) argues that less prejudiced thought and behavior may correspond with a minimal cognitive categorization tendency or style. Billig (1985, p. 93) suggests that nonprejudiced thought and behavior may involve a flexible as opposed to a rigid cognitive style including a move away from a rigid use of categorical statements. Jones

(1986) argues that nonprejudice may correspond to the ability to

. . . acknowledge the possibilities of group differences and, rather than perceive any and all differences as problematic, [trying] to discern ways in which differences make a positive contribution to the aggregate set of capacities in the total social and cultural fabric of a multicultural society. (Jones, 1986, p. 309)

Ziller (1973, p. 74) recommends that the ability to orient toward others (rather than toward oneself only) may relate to nonprejudice, and may result in a de-alienation of outgroup members. Aronson (1978) takes a similar position. He states that tendencies for cooperative contact and challenge with opportunities to see things from the outgroup's perspective correspond to low levels of prejudice. Schofield (1986, p. 237) argues that cognitive color-blindness, or a similarity orientation of sorts, corresponds to nonprejudiced thought and behavior.

Given the above thoughts, universal orientation will be viewed as the antithesis of prejudice, or at the minimum, a move in a direction opposite of prejudice. Universal orientation is multi-faceted and consists of the eight correlates presented in the upcoming section. The correlates of universal orientation that are of particular interest to this study (beyond the pilot study phase) are those that are theoretically related to the tendency to fail to cognitively orient to oneself and to others in terms of ingroup-outgroup membership or "us and them" thinking.

Thus, for the purpose of this study, less prejudiced thought is defined as the lack of or the avoidance ingroup-outgroup cognition, and is proposed to be manifested by, or associated with, an acceptance of a diversity of others. In contradistinction from prejudice, the definition of less prejudiced thought does not contain the tendency to exclude others, and therefore is a move away from "us and them" thinking tendencies. Universal cognitive orientation therefore consists of a collection of self-related schemata that are not defined by rigid and evaluative group membership. Thus, people that hold a universal orientation possess self-schemata for less prejudiced or exclusionary behaviors and interactions. For example, it has been shown that particular nonprejudice schemas (e.g., similarity orientation) are negatively associated with indicators of racial prejudice such as the Modern Racism scale and the Rokeach Dogmatism scale (e.g., Ziller & Hodge, 1989). A review of the cognitive style, personality, demographic, and lifestyle correlates of universal orientation will now be discussed.

#### Eight universal orientation cognitive style correlates

The following universal orientation cognitive style correlates are based upon components from R.C. Ziller's (1990a, 1973, & Appendices E, F, & G) self-schema social orientation instrument that are proposed to represent self-schemata for nonprejudice.

Similarity orientation. Similarity orientation is the tendency to seek out or orient to the similarities in others. Likewise, Hodge (1989, pp. 18 & 45) defined similarity orientation as a tendency to overlook differences in others and to be more accepting of differences as positive that are noticed by chance.

"When people are seen as dissimilar, they are more likely to be disliked and avoided" (Pettigrew, 1987, p. 58). Classic studies have demonstrated the power of the perception of similarity (such as belief similarity and value similarity) upon interpersonal liking and attraction. For example, Insko et al. (1983) demonstrated that the perception of similarity was more influential than racial preferences in relation to interpersonal attraction. In their study, most European Americans expressed more affinity for African-Americans that they perceived as similar-minded than for other European Americans who were not similar-minded.

Many other studies support the above implications of a similarity orientation with regard to interpersonal attraction. In an allocation of resources study, Aron et al. (1991) demonstrated that when a subject views a target as similar to her/himself, s/he also thinks of her/him and treats her/him similarly to how s/he treats her/himself. Stephan (1985, p. 607) briefly suggests that if we perceive that others possess the same traits as we do, we may expect

them to behave in a fashion similar to us as opposed to in some negatively based, out-group stereotypical manner.

Schofield (1986, p. 237) anecdotally notes that in some circles, primarily orienting to another's different race may be viewed as a possible sign of prejudice. At the same time, we cannot assume that similarity orientation itself is associated with a lack of the categorization tendency because it is well-noted that perceivers use discriminating cues as ways of organizing objects along lines of similarity as well as difference (Taylor, 1981). However, Messick and Mackie (1989, p. 70), note that to the degree that intergroup boundaries are blurred or weakened, a similarity orientation is more likely to occur. In addition, a focus upon superordinate categories such as common humanity is likely to reduce the ingroup bias effect.

As an overall human tendency, people may or may not be inclined to see others as similar to the self or to seek out similarities of self and others depending upon individual personality tendencies and situational conditions. For example, individuals high in the need for uniqueness (Snyder & Fromkin, 1980) or in need of situational self-affirmation may differ in the tendency to seek out or orient to the similarities and differences between themselves and others (Markus & Wurf, 1987, p. 323-324; Swann, 1983). Some people may be more predisposed to orient toward the commonalities that they have with others, while others may orient more

toward the contrasts. The similarity oriented person relates first to the humanness and commonality of those s/he encounters, and then to their individual uniquenesses and differences. Similarity oriented persons may even prefer to be in the company of those from whom they differ (i.e., they may prefer a heterogeneous configuration of people with which to interact), yet they easily relate to the commonalities that exists amongst both their homogeneous and heterogeneous counterparts. Given the assumption that there are individual differences in the similarity orientation tendency, it is proposed that those who tend to seek out or easily relate to similarities in people would be less likely to exhibit prejudiced or disliking attitudes and behaviors toward them.

Studies on similarity orientation utilizing a version of the Ziller and Clarke (1987; Ziller, 1990) similarity orientation scale have supported the thesis that people who orient toward similarities with others are less prejudicial and constrictive in their thinking. Phillips (1993) reports that past research involving the similarity orientation concept yielded an  $r=-.23$ ,  $p<.05$  correlation with McConahay's (1986) Modern Racism scale, an  $r=-.38$ ,  $p<.05$  correlation with Rokeach's (1960) Dogmatism scale, and an  $r=.22$ ,  $p<.05$  correlation with Ziller's (1990a) Self-Complexity index (see next section).

Several researchers report a relationship amongst ethnicity, gender and similarity orientation. Specifically, Phillips (1993) remarks that an  $r=.41$ ,  $p<.05$  point bi-serial correlation between similarity orientation and ethnicity wherein African Americans tended to produce higher similarity orientation scores indicating that African Americans orient to similarities more so than do others. In addition, Hodge (1989) found a significant gender effect,  $F=8.32$ ,  $p<.005$ , wherein females scored higher on similarity orientation than men. A gender-by-race interaction was also evidenced wherein African American females scored higher in similarity orientation than European American females. European American and African American males scored lower than the females, but did not differ significantly from one another. Related to these findings, studies by Triandis (1960), Messick and Mackie (1989) and Linville et al. (1986) indicate that minority-status ethnic groups may be less race-dependent (i.e., race carries much less weight) when informationally orienting to others than are majority-status ethnic groups.

The results of the pilot study that is contained within the current study further support similarity orientation as a universal orientation variable. One-hundred and fifty University of Florida undergraduate students participated in this study involving universal orientation and valuation of categorical or labeling information. See the Methods

chapter, "Pilot Study" for the specifics of this study, and Chapter 3 for the specifics of the results. The findings with regard to Similarity Orientation are briefly summarized as follows. No significant correlations were found between the similarity orientation measure and gender or between the similarity orientation measure and ethnic membership. However, similarity orientation correlated positively and significantly with: two measures of openness ( $r's = .33$  &  $.27$ ,  $p's < .01$ ); intergroup marginality ( $r = .18$ ,  $p < .05$ ); and age ( $r = .17$ ,  $p < .05$ ). In this same study, similarity orientation was found to correlate negatively and significantly with: overall valuation of labeling information ( $r = -.18$ ,  $p < .03$ ); valuation of ethnic labels ( $r = -.19$ ,  $p < .03$ ); and valuation of various independent stigmatized labels (i.e., in a wheelchair, just released from prison, a mental patient, and has AIDS) ( $r = -.17$ ,  $p < .04$ ).

Regression analyses revealed that similarity orientation was one of the best predictors of overall category informational valuation,  $F(6,136) = 2.822$ ,  $p < .02$  when in combination with other universal orientation variables such as inclusiveness and othercenteredness (further detailed in Chapter 3). In this study, the similarity orientation measure produced an  $\alpha = .68$  inter-item reliability coefficient.

The pilot data, when together with the findings of other studies, indicate that similarity orientation is a component of less prejudiced thought. These studies suggest that similarity orientation consists of a move in a direction away from modern racism, dogmatism, and reliance upon and valuation of categorical or labeling information, and a move toward an openness and receptiveness to others.

Self-complexity. Self-complexity is defined as the degree of differentiation of the self-concept (Ziller et al., 1977; Ziller, 1973). Degrees of complexity are derived developmentally on the basis of social experiences. Ziller (1973) explains:

The earliest stage of self-awareness involves the separation of the self from the non-self. As the developmental process continues, the self concept becomes increasingly differentiated. . . . Through the process of social comparison [and differentiation]. . . more meaningful encounters with a wide variety of others is associated with increased self-dimensionality or complexity of the self concept. (Ziller, 1973, p. 78)

The operational definition of self-complexity consists of the number of facets or dimensions that one perceives about him/herself as measured by the number of adjectives endorsed as descriptive of oneself (See Appendix F).

Thus, persons with complex self-concepts are presumed to be multifaceted. . . . [i]t is anticipated that individuals with complex self-concepts may be aware of or consider a great number of stimuli as being potentially associated with the self. In terms of interpersonal perception, the complex person has a higher probability of matching some facet of the self with a facet of the other person, since for the multifaceted person there are a larger number of possible matches. Similarly, others have a higher

probability of matching a facet of themselves with a facet of the complex person. Thus, it is hypothesized that the complex individual is more inclined toward assimilation of self and others or perceiving some similarities between self and others, whereas the simplex individual is inclined toward contrasting self and others. In general, then, it is proposed that persons with more complex self-concepts attend to a broader range of social stimuli, perceive more similarities between self and other, are more open to feedback from others, and are more responsive to a wide variety of others. (Ziller et al., 1977, pp. 399-400)

Ziller et al.'s (1977) in-depth analysis of the concept of self-complexity indicated that those engaged in a limited social environment have a more simplex self-concept because of limited opportunities for self-differentiation. In this study, self-complexity measures were taken for hearing and speech impaired students as well as terminally ill patients. It was found that these subjects had significantly smaller self-complexity ratings than subjects with normal hearing and speech and who were not terminally ill. In a related study (Ziller et al., 1977), the least popular children (as measured by desire to play with them) had the least complex self-concepts as measured by an adjective checklist similar to the one in Appendix F. As Phillips (1993) explains, "the more diverse encounters that we have, the more likely we are to develop richer, more differentiated self-concepts. . . . [T]his process leads to more encoding and further categorization [regarding others]." The self-complex person should be able to interact with and relate to a wide variety of people as he is able to match and fit domains of her/himself with domains of others. Ziller et al. (1977)

found that self-complex individuals were more popular and tended to put less social distance between themselves and others. They also identified, topologically, more closely with others and saw themselves as being more similar to persons different from themselves (e.g., much older than themselves).

Validity studies of cognitive-complexity indicate that self-complexity is independent of self-esteem, intelligence scores, and academic performance (Ziller et al., 1977). These studies also showed that self-complex subjects view themselves as more complex, create more complex self-descriptive photographs, deliberate longer and search for more information before drawing conclusions in decision making, and are more likely to be female. In addition to these findings, it is assumed that persons with more complex self concepts attend to a broader range of social stimuli, are more responsive to others, are less likely to be seriously disturbed by new experiences which appear incongruent, and are better able to assimilate new information (Ziller, 1973, pp. 79 & 155).

In a study utilizing one-hundred undergraduate, University of Florida students, Ziller and Hodge (1989) found that self-complexity correlated positively with similarity orientation,  $r=.22$ ,  $p<.05$ . In the pilot study discussed in Chapters 2 and 3 of the current study and involving one-hundred, forty-nine University of Florida

students primarily between the ages of 17 and 22, a significant correlation was found between self-complexity and valuation of race-related information,  $r=.17$ ,  $p<.05$ . This finding, taking together with the other findings just discussed regarding self-complexity research, indicates that self-complexity is related to less prejudiced thought or universal orientation.

Interpersonal openness. Openness is the first of six universal orientation concepts that are measured in a diagrammatic or topological manner (see Appendix G). Openness is defined as the tendency to associate or orient "toward" rather than "away" from both similar and different others (Phillips, 1993). For example, Pettigrew (1981, p. 100) notes that prejudiced and authoritarian subjects show less social participation, which would indicate, in Ziller's terms, that they are less open. Ziller (1973) explains the concept of openness:

Openness refers to the perceived number and breadth of associations with others whose location from the self is proximal or distal . . . openness refers to "moving toward people" as opposed to remaining separated or moving away from others. . . . Openness pertains to the individual's perception of his initiative in seeking associations with others and his acceptance of others as associated... More than this, however, the extent of these associations is significant... Few associations may indicate guardedness with regard to others... The more open person is willing to endure the risk of social encounters . . . (Ziller, 1973, p. 114-115).

The ability to orient to the majority is termed "Openness A". The ability to orient to the minority is termed "Openness B". Ziller's (1990a Appendix G) measure of

openness revealed reliability measures of  $\alpha=.98$  for openness A and  $\alpha=.84$  for openness B in the pilot study (the results of which are further detailed in Chapter 3). Split-half reliability for this measure is reported as  $r=.64$  (Ziller, 1973, p. 115).

Validity studies for this measure are also reported by Ziller (1973). One of the validity findings include University of Oregon militant Black Student Union members used fewer connecting lines (i.e., indicated fewer affiliative associations) in the openness task than any other members of campus organizations. Another finding involves Israeli Kibbutz children scoring higher in openness than Israeli children who were attending a rigid religious school, indicating that Kibbutz children perceive the self as being associated with a wider range of peers. In addition, the Kibbutz girls were more open than the Kibbutz boys.

In the pilot study presented in Chapters 2 and 3 of the current study, openness to the majority and openness to the minority correlated positively and significantly with one another,  $r=.82$ ,  $p<.001$ . Both openness A and openness B correlated positively and significantly with similarity orientation in the same pilot study,  $r=.27$ ,  $p<.05$  and  $r=.33$ ,  $p<.05$ , respectively. Openness B, but not openness A, correlated positively and significantly with the heterogeneity measure (discussed below),  $r=.18$ ,  $p<.03$ .

Ziller and Hodge (1989) found openness A to correlate with the nonhierarchicalness measure (discussed below),  $r=.20$ ,  $p<.05$ . Openness B also correlated with nonhierarchy choices,  $r=.40$ ,  $p<.05$  (Phillips, 1993).

A significant positive correlation was found between openness and gender with females showing higher scores in openness A and openness B,  $r=.24$ ,  $p<.01$  and  $r=.22$ ,  $p<.01$ , respectively. Openness A correlated negatively with income ( $r=-.20$ ,  $p<.04$ ) and age ( $r=-.19$ ,  $p<.03$ ) indicating that those subjects who participated in the pilot study who were wealthy or who were older, were less open. Openness B showed a similar age trend, though just below conventional levels of significance,  $r=-.16$ ,  $p<.06$ .

The above noted age trend can possibly be explained by findings cited in the literature indicating that as one ages and takes on responsibilities such as marriage, career, children, and the like, one becomes more closed and selective regarding acquaintanceships, friendships, and other relationships. As noted in Chapter 3 regarding the pilot study, subjects ranged in age from 17-66 with most of them at age 22 or below. The first years of adulthood (including the early college period) is the age at which people have more friends and acquaintances than during any subsequent period (Berger, 1988, p. 437). Thus, the apparent age trend may be due to normal developmental

patterns of responsibility rather than to developmental changes in prejudice and nonprejudice itself.

The above noted income trend can possibly be explained in the same manner as the age trend. In the pilot study discussed in Chapter 3, age and income correlated,  $r=.76$ ,  $p<.001$ . The negative correlation found between income and openness may be related more to added responsibility and a subsequent decrease in sociability.

Surprisingly, the openness measures did not correlate with the category valuation items utilized in the pilot study which, taken with other evidence, indicates that category informational valuation may not be one of the better indicators of prejudiced behavior. Better dependent measures were needed and were included in the subsequent dissertation study. Nevertheless, the other evidence discussed indicates that openness is importantly related to universal orientation.

Intergroup marginality. Marginality is the second of six universal orientation concepts that are measured in a diagrammatic or topological manner (see Appendix G). Marginality is defined as the tendency to view oneself as not belonging to one of two or more opposing groups, but instead, to see oneself as not firmly belonging to any of the opposing groups, or else to all of the opposing groups (Phillips, 1993; Hodge, 1989). Marginality suggests and appears to be associated with open-mindedness, non-alignment

and mediatorship (Ziller, Stark & Pruden, 1969). The marginal person avoids over-identification with any one group in his effort to remain open and fair minded toward them all. The marginal person is "one who avoids categorization or who will take a neutral position between opposing groups" (Ziller, 1973, p. 50). It is believed that marginality is a component of universal-oriented thinking. "Marginality connotes one who . . . is open to new ideas and information from all groups" (Ziller et al., 1969, p. 493).

In validity studies involving this concept, the marginality measure has been found to correlate negatively with Rokeach's Dogmatism scale,  $r=-.43$ ,  $p<.01$  indicating that as marginality increases, closed, dogmatic thinking decreases (Ziller et al., 1969, p. 493; Ziller, 1973, p. 50). In addition, research reveals an association between the marginality measure and two marginal occupations, salesmen and first-line supervisors (foreman). Salesmen and foremen produced significantly higher marginality scores than did teachers, principals, and students (Ziller, 1969; Ziller, 1973). Ziller (1973) reports that marginal persons were found to take more neutral positions in pro and con arguments:

Marginal persons tended to support the pro and con arguments about equally, while the non-marginal persons were more one-sided in their support [ $p<.01$ ]. The latter tended to support one or the other of the arguments more frequently. The results support the proposed meaning of the marginality measure. (Ziller, 1973, p. 52)

It is suggested in the literature that members of traditionally underprivileged groups may tend more toward marginal thinking. Ziller (1973, p. 46) offers that some sources of marginality include ethnic origins such as Italian American or membership in distinctive racial groups such as African American. It has also been noted that ethnic/racial minorities are statistically overly represented in marginal positions such as sales (Ziller et al., 1969, p. 493). Many authors have qualitatively addressed the issue of the marginality of the African American and other disenfranchised groups as a outcome of their negative experiences with respect to the larger cultures that surround them (e.g., DuBois, 1903; Gwaltney, 1980; McClain, 1986; Jaynes & Williams, 1989). DuBois (1903, p. 165) wrote on the discomforting duality or double consciousness of African American thought; McClain (1986, p. 14) wrote on the alienation of the "foot in each world" middle class African American; Gwaltney (1980, p. 1) begins his writing with "Black men have no country", and Jaynes and Williams (1989, p. 194) on "African-American Cultural Duality" each deal with the issue. Along these lines, Ziller (1973, p. 46 & 50) quotes classic studies wherein the marginal man is described as one who lives in two different and antagonistic cultures and/or is one who does not perceive himself as included within a group of others.

If we think in terms of defense mechanisms, marginality might serve as a reasonable means of adjusting under such circumstances, and can be considered to possess positive associations. However, marginal thought and behavior may utilize additional cognitive and emotional energy that at extremes, or in accumulation over long periods of time, can be debilitating (Feagin, 1991, p. 115). For example, a constant state of marginality or being torn "between two worlds" (and feeling unaccepted by both) is believed to have eventually lead to the suicide of award-winning Chicago Tribune columnist, Leanita McClain (McClain, 1986, p. 1). McClain, an African American wrote before her death:

I am not comfortably middle class; I am uncomfortably middle class. I have made it, but where? I run a gauntlet between two worlds, and I am cursed and blessed by both. I travel, observe and take part in both; I can also be used by both. I am a rope in a tug of war. If I am a token in my downtown office, so am I at my cousin's church tea. I assuage white guilt. I disprove black inadequacy and prove to my parents' generation that their patience was indeed a virtue. I have a foot in each world, but I cannot fool myself about either. I can see the transparent deceptions of some whites and the bitter hopelessness of some blacks. I know how tenuous my grip on one way of life is, and how strangling the grip of the other way of life can be. (McClain, 1986, pp. 13-14)

Many more anecdotal accounts, such as the ones described above, are offered in the literature. For example, it is written of Dorothy Dandridge who was dubbed the Black Marilyn Monroe of her day, that, "the dilemma of being disliked by many in both worlds constantly worried [her]" (Mills, 1970, p. 107). While many qualitative

accounts on the marginality of disenfranchised groups, only rare quantitative analyses are offered. General quantitative analyses of marginality have, however, been attempted by Ziller in the line of his Self-Social Schema studies (e.g., Ziller, 1973) and will now be discussed.

The split-half reliability of the marginality measure is reported as  $\alpha=.83-.87$  (Ziller, 1973, p. 49). The Cronbach inter-item reliability measure is  $\alpha=.63$  as indicated in the Chapter 3 pilot results concerning the current study. The marginality measure correlated positively and significantly with: similarity orientation,  $r=.18$ ,  $p<.05$ ; inclusiveness (see below),  $r=.21$ ,  $p<.02$ ; and heterogeneity (see below),  $r=.18$ ,  $p<.04$ . These findings indicate that the marginal subjects were more likely to orient to the commonalities that they had with others, more likely to include others into their circle of membership, and more likely to orient to a diversity than to homogeneity. Ziller (1973, p. 50) reports a correlation between marginality and age,  $r=-.55$ ,  $p<.01$ . No significant correlation was found between marginality and age in the pilot study which included primarily 17-22 year olds and may have been statistically restrictive.

When taken as a whole, the findings pertaining to the marginality measure indicate that marginality is related to less prejudice or universal orientation. While the literature suggests that extreme levels of marginality may

have maladaptive consequences, the data presented above indicates that less-than-extreme levels of marginality are healthy and congruent with universal orientation.

Inclusiveness. Inclusiveness is the third of six topological or diagrammatic measures that are believed to be associated with nonprejudice or universal orientation (see Appendix G). Inclusiveness is defined as the willingness to accept or include others into ones circle or sphere of membership or influence (Hodge, 1988). Inclusion is a measure of an individual's perception of or preference for belonging to open, as opposed to closed, groups. The inclusiveness component of nonprejudice is operationalized as a lack of an ingroup-outgroup exclusiveness.

By definition, an inclusive oriented person would avoid groups which tend to exclude others (Ziller, 1973, p. 116). The universally oriented person would have a preference for being in open, non-limiting, inclusive groups (Phillips, 1993). Messick and Mackie (1989, p. 71) propose that diminishing the intensity of ingroup identification or reducing the instrumental importance of group membership may decrease the tendency to perceive and to interact with others in categorical terms. They also note that little is known of experimental research on this point. It seems likely however, that the avoidance of exclusive groups would be in the nonprejudice, as opposed to prejudice, direction.

The Cronbach inter-item reliability of the inclusiveness measure is alpha=.93 as discussed in the pilot study results found in Chapter 3 of this current study. The inclusiveness measure correlated with marginality in the same study,  $r=.21$ ,  $p<.02$ . Inclusiveness correlated negatively and significantly with the total scores of the category valuation items listed in Table 7 of the Results chapter,  $r=-.19$ ,  $p<.05$ , indicating that as inclusiveness increased for these subjects, valuation of categorical or labeling information decreased. Similar findings resulted regarding inclusiveness and the summed ethnic and the age related category informativeness items,  $r's=-.19$  and  $-.17$ ,  $p's<.05$ , respectively. The diminished value of categorical information as inclusiveness increases indicates possibly less ingroup-outgroup consciousness or orienting amongst those subjects which is congruent with less prejudicial thought or universal orientation.

Nonhierarchicalness. Nonhierarchicalness is the fourth of six universal orientation concepts that are measured in a diagrammatic or topological manner (see Appendix G). Nonhierarchicalness is a lack of status concern which manifests itself operationally as the tendency to avoid schematically arranging people in a vertical order of social importance, category, or rank, and instead, arranging people in terms of equal status configurations.

Nonhierarchicalness, which is also known as

nonevaluativeness, refers to a quality of not being critical of others' differences, deficiencies, statuses, and powers while attempting to place others in equal relation to oneself (Hodge, 1989, p. 20-21). Nonhierarchicalness is the newest, and possibly one of the more powerful concepts and predictors of nonprejudice or universal orientation (Phillips, 1993).

Hodge (1989, p. 21-22) offers an example of two groups that differ in their hierarchical orientations. Traditional Greek letter fraternities were more likely to use highly hierarchical or evaluative procedures when making induction decisions. In contrast, non-Greek service fraternities and sororities were less likely to utilize such evaluative procedures for deciding membership. This tendency showed an  $r=.22$ ,  $p<.05$  correlation between evaluativeness of groups induction proceedings and type of fraternity or sorority. This finding is particularly interesting in that it may in part illustrate the schema of evaluation possessed by traditional Greeks wherein they hierarchically set themselves above their inductees. Such ordering appears to be lacking in the service groups.

Pettigrew (1981, p. 100) notes that studies utilizing a variety of samples and survey techniques have shown that prejudiced and authoritarian subjects tend to show greater status concerns. If status concerns are related to prejudice, then a lack of status concerns should be related

to nonprejudice. Pettigrew (1981) describes the hierarchical orientation of the authoritarian, prejudiced person:

. . . they come to view the world in good-bad, up-and-down power terms. They are generally outwardly submissive toward those they see as authorities with power over them, and aggressive toward those they see as beneath them in status. This hierarchical view of authority links directly with intergroup attitudes. High-status groups are respected, and authoritarians generally treat them with deference. Low-status groups are disparaged. . . . Prejudice becomes, then, for many authoritarian, "a crutch upon which to limp through life." Lacking insight into their own inner feelings, they project their own unacceptable impulses unto outgroups which they regard as beneath them.

Studies involving the nonhierarchical orientation indicate that those with such an orientation do not see their judgements and social interactions with others in such provisional terms. Ziller and Hodge (1989) found that nonhierarchical thinking was negatively correlated with Modern Racism although it missed conventional levels of significance,  $r=-.21$ ,  $p<.07$  (Phillips, 1993). In the same study: a correlation of  $r=.21$ ,  $p<.05$  was found between nonhierarchicalness and similarity orientation; an  $r=.20$ ,  $p<.05$  correlation was found between nonhierarchicalness and openness A; and an  $r=.40$ ,  $p<.05$  correlation was found between nonhierarchicalness and openness B. Phillips (1993) also reports that people who choose the hierarchical arrangement over the nonhierarchical one were less likely to remember information about an older person,  $r=-.27$ ,  $p<.05$ .

The pilot study portion of the current study revealed a relationship between gender and nonhierarchicalness with women tending to score higher in nonhierarchicalness than men,  $r=.20$ ,  $p<.05$ . This finding suggests that women are less likely to orient to others differentially in terms of power, status, etc. In another finding congruent with this one, Ziller and Hodge (1989) report an  $r=.25$ ,  $p<.05$  with gender, wherein women indicated higher levels of nonhierarchicalness than men (Phillips, 1993).

Hodge (1989, pp. 38, 40 & 44) also reports a near significant main effect for nonhierarchicalness and race/ethnicity,  $F=2.45$ ,  $p<.10$ , indicating that African Americans tend to orient themselves more nonhierarchically toward others than do European Americans. Hodge notes that the sample of African Americans ( $n=11$ ) in this study was only 11 of the total sample size ( $N=100$ ) which most likely accounts for the marginal level of significance.

The pilot study portion of the current study found the Cronbach inter-item reliability of the nonhierarchicalness measure to be  $\alpha=.86$ .

Interpersonal heterogeneity. Heterogeneity is the fifth of six universal orientation concepts that are measured in a diagrammatic or topological manner (see Appendix G). Heterogeneity is the tendency to orient more toward diverse social groups than toward homogeneous groups. Hodge (1989, p. 18) notes that an outcome of heterogeneity

is the ability and willingness "to see differences in others as positive." Phillips (1993) further explains the conceptualization of heterogeneity as the preference for identifying with heterogeneous as opposed to homogeneous groups:

In our framework, the universally oriented person would likely rather be included in the heterogeneous group... [T]his person would not be as threatened by being surrounded by diversity, and may even be attracted to it. . . . [A] person who is attracted to heterogeneity can be conceptualized as actively pursuing a variety of diverse people, not merely being accepting of diverse people.

Heterogeneity is operationalized as an affinity for a heterogeneous social configuration over a homogeneous one. In terms of inter-item reliability, the pilot study portion of the current study revealed a Cronbach alpha=.55 for the heterogeneity measure. This measure correlated positively and significantly with openness B ( $r=.18$ ,  $p<.03$ ) and with marginality ( $r=.18$ ,  $p<.04$ ), indicating that as heterogeneity increased for the pilot study subjects, openness toward minorities and negotiation amongst groups also increases.

While the evidence for the heterogeneity measure is not as plentiful as that for the previously discussed topological measures, it does encourage optimism and further study of this concept as a component of universal orientation.

Other-centeredness. Other-centeredness is the final of six universal orientation concepts that are measured in a diagrammatic or topological manner (see Appendix G). Other-

centeredness concerns the use of others as opposed to the self as the key point of reference (Ziller, 1973). Other-centrality is defined by Hodge (1989) as the perception of the social environment from the point of view of the other as opposed to the point of view of the perceiver. Hodge's definition implies an advanced and willing perspective-taking ability on the part of the perceiver.

Aronson and Bridgeman (1978) observations of competitive and cooperative classrooms tangentially illustrated that opportunities provided for seeing things from other people's perspective positively related to reductions in inter-ethnic prejudice. Stephan (1985, pp. 645-647), Stephan and Stephan (1985) and Fiedler, Mitchell and Triandis (1971) have made similar observations suggesting a relationship between perspective-taking and ability to accept others. Stephan and Brigham (1985) and Markus and Kitayama (1991) suggest a relationship between cooperative perspective-taking, interdependence and intergroup conflict resolution as opposed to total independence, competition, egocentrism and ethnocentrism. The important factor is the orientation toward the other as opposed to the self. Ziller explains:

In the present approach, the question of inward-outward directionality of the self is recast in terms of whether the individual defines the self in terms of others or defines others in terms of the self. Either the self or significant others may be perceived as the figure or ground. (Ziller, 1973, p. 64)

Oppositely, the high self-central individual disengages himself from others or from social norms and develops a private, egocentric, or narcissistic frame of reference (Ziller, 1973). The self-central person probably has relatively little knowledge about or interest in others because he is so self-focused (Ziller, 1973; Markus & Wurf, 1986). Markus and Wurf note the following regarding self-centrality:

The use of the self as a reference point depends on whether the person is primarily focused on the self or on the other, and on relative amount of information about each. . . . [P]eople are more likely to use the self as a basis for judging others when they are focused more on the self than on the other, and when they have much information about the self, but little about the other. (Markus & Wurf, 1986, p. 323)

Self-centrality is operationalized as the placement of self rather than a significant other closer to the center of the a large circle. Placement of a significant other into the center of the circle is assumed to depict greater other-centrality (Ziller, 1973, p. 66). This measure yielded an alpha=.58 split-half reliability statistic (Ziller, 1973, p. 66) and alpha=.30 Cronbach inter-item reliability statistic in the pilot study portion of the current study.

Validity studies involving other-centeredness have been conducted by Ziller (1973). Ziller (1973, p. 67, 71) found that problem children and neuropsychiatric patients scored significantly lower in other-centeredness than did controls. Ziller (1973, p. 66) also found that in a study of school-aged children, those that were rated as the most desired

playmates tended to place others, rather than the self, in the central position when administered the self/other-centrality task. This indicates a possible relationship between orienting to others and interpersonal competency or success. Such success may apply across group lines (e.g., gender, racial, etc.). The pilot portion of the current study found support for the social orientation of allocentric or other-centered persons. As scores of other-centeredness increased, summed valuation of occupational categorical information decreased,  $r=-.21$ ,  $p<.05$ .

#### The non-ingroup/outgroup cognitive orientation tendency

When this study was initially proposed, its focus was upon the eight universal orientation components and their relationship to prejudice as manifested by valuation of categorical information (the pilot study). Because universal orientation consists of so many varied themes (e.g., openness to others, marginality between groups, nonhierarchicalness, etc.), the pilot study findings were scattered and difficult to interpret. What was needed was one narrowed, yet unifying theme. The eight components were re-examined in search of a unifying theme among the components. The literature was also reexamined for possible themes that might tie the relationship between schema orientations and prejudiced behavior together, that might serve as a "key" to the better understanding of prejudice or the lack thereof.

The current study is based upon the hypothesis that a diminished tendency to think in terms of "us and them" or of ingroup and outgroup will be positively associated with acceptance of diverse others. The lack of the ingroup-outgroup tendency, for the purpose of this study, will be termed "Non-Ingroup/Outgroup Cognitive Orientation" and is defined as the tendency to fail to cognitively orient oneself and social others in terms of your or their presence, membership, status, or position relative to or within a group. In other words, non-prejudice is the avoidance of "us and them" thinking. However, In order to discuss the rationale behind the proposed non-ingroup/outgroup cognitive tendency, it is necessary to first discuss the ingroup-outgroup bias tendency itself.

The literature pertaining to the problem of prejudice makes many references to the ability of the experimental elicitation of ingroup-outgroup awareness to result in "us vs. them" behavior manifested by ingroup favoritism and discrimination toward outgroup members (e.g., Howard & Rothbart, 1980; Locksley et al., 1980; Tajfel, 1969; Tajfel, 1970; Tajfel, 1982). Tajfel (1969, 1970) in his classic studies illustrated that when group members are made to believe that they have something in common with others- even if its seemingly trivial such as their supposed high or low dot estimating tendencies- they will behave in ways that favor their own group at the expense of the outgroup.

Locksley et al. (1980) illustrated in their studies that subjects need not be made to feel that they have anything in common with other members in order for the ingroup bias to occur, but obvious random assignment to groups or coin flip assignments still results in ingroup bias. Tajfel and Jahoda (1966, discussed in Wolfgang & Insko, 1989) demonstrated that even young children will engage in ingroup bias and outgroup disregard toward national groups of whom they have no knowledge. Other studies have also shown that among adult subjects, the mere existence of other groups, even when competition is implied, also results in the ingroup-outgroup bias, and outgroup members are often strangers and are usually anonymous (Stephan, 1985, p. 613).

Other implications of the ingroup-outgroup bias include: Subjects showing significantly better memory for negative outgroup related information than for negative ingroup related information, which can translate into the ingroup being good and the outgroup being bad (Howard & Rothbart, 1980); Once subjects have categorized themselves and others into ingroup and outgroup statuses, they tend to perceive themselves to be similar to other ingroup members and different from members of the outgroup (Wilder, 1981); Subjects tend to think of ingroup members as being heterogeneous in character and makeup, yet view outgroup members as homogeneous and stereotypical (Wilder, 1981;

Linville, 1982). Research in this area has also shown that virtually any act of intergroup categorization can lead to ingroup and outgroup bias (Stephan, 1985, p. 613). Myers, 1987 nicely states the impact of the ingroup bias:

The social definition of who you are- your race, religion, sex, academic major- can also imply a definition of who you are not. . . . The circle that includes "us" excludes "them". . . . Thus, the mere experience of people's being formed into groups, quite apart from any relationship between the groups, may promote ingroup bias. (Myers, 1985, p. 502)

The resulting ingroup biases in these studies have been observed with a vast variety of measures including ingroup and outgroup performance evaluations, trait ratings, direct money allocations, and point allocations (Messick & Mackie, 1989, p. 63). Stephan and Stephan (1985, p. 168) has suggested that when one's ego, competence, group identity, self-esteem, or intergroup comfort is threatened, that one may be motivated to emphasize or defend one's group's "superior" qualities even at the expense of other groups in the form of any of the just mentioned dependent measures or more.

Therefore, the tendency of categorization processes that lead to ingroup favoritism has been experimentally induced and demonstrated time and time again, and has been shown to occur easily under experimental conditions. However, no personality or cognitive style examinations of differences in naturally occurring ingroup-outgroup tendencies have been performed as of yet. In other words,

no individual differences in the existence of the ingroup-outgroup tendency has been examined. Perhaps some individuals may be more prone to ingroup favoritism than other individuals on a cognitive level. The works of Tajfel (see Wilder, 1981) has suggested some means by which the ingroup-outgroup bias may exist when not experimentally induced: The ingroup bias tendency may be culturally transmitted; likewise, it may be generationally transmitted; or some individuals may be cognitively more prone to the bias than others. If the tendency to favor the ingroup can be experimentally manipulated or induced, then perhaps it occurs to some extent outside of the experimental situation. The mere presence of prejudice in our culture suggests that it does. The means by which prejudice manifest itself in our society can be easily explained by the ingroup-outgroup tendency. That is, there appears to be an association between "us and them" thinking and prejudiced thought or behavior. The current study makes an attempt to measure any naturally occurring cognitive tendencies to include or exclude others or to orient or fail to orient themselves and others in terms of ingroup-outgroup membership in social situations. The major hypothesis offered in this study is that those who fail to orient to others in terms of ingroup-outgroup membership, i.e., those who appear to avoid ingroup oriented social configurations, are likely to exhibit less

prejudice which would be manifested by their ability to accept diverse others.

In an attempt to examine naturally occurring lack or presence of ingroup-outgroup tendencies, Ziller's Self-Social Schema Orientation Instrument (Ziller, 1973; Ziller & Clarke, 1987; Ziller & Hodge, 1989; Ziller, 1990a) components discussed above were examined as a starting point. The components of the instrument were examined for their theoretical relationship to presence or lack of ingroup-outgroup tendencies. Those components that could be theoretically explained in terms of ingroup-outgroup thought or decision making, that is, if responses to the component items required some type of apparent lack or presence of ingroup-outgroup cognitive thought, those were the items that were proposed to be associated with acceptance of diversity. So, each item was carefully scrutinized for some form of "us and them" orientation. Components that were considered for inclusion in the Non-Ingroup/Outgroup Cognition set were: those that involved any types of inclusion of oneself or others with respect to a group (positioning oneself or others inside, outside, or between groups, etc.); those that involved structuring self and others with respect to status or position; and those that involved orienting to similarities or differences in other people. Thus, of the eight components delineated above, the ones that were intended as part of the Non-ingroup/outgroup

measure were Similarity Orientation, Inclusiveness, Marginality and Nonhierarchicalness. Later, based on the difficulty in theoretical interpretation and factor analyses results, Heterogeneity was also included. These five components of Ziller's (Ziller, 1973; Ziller & Clarke, 1987; Ziller, 1990a) Self-Social Schema Orientation Instrument are the means by which naturally occurring ingroup/outgroup cognitive orientation was operationalized. These are the components that are hypothesized to be associated with and predictive of acceptance of diversity, as well as better predictors than conventional measures of prejudice such as the Modern Racism Scale (McConahay, 1986). The discussion will now turn to a review of the study, presentation of the model and a more specific discussion of the hypotheses.

#### Study Overview

An overall examination of the popular view concerning prejudice to this point in social psychological history can be summarized as follows: 1) Prejudgments or prejudices have generally been considered natural, unavoidable tendencies; 2) While we may hold category-based prejudices against some people and things, we hold them even more obviously concerning those that are outside of our "ingroup". Perceptions of "ingroup" membership have been associated with ingroup favoritism, discriminatory behavior toward "outgroup" members and perceptions of outgroup member

homogeneity. Ingroup favoritism, even at the expense of the outgroup, can be induced utilizing bogus and/or trivial information such as supposed performance on a dot estimation task; 3) To an extent, prejudices toward significant and diverse outgroups have been found to be interrelated; 4) Within the social psychology literature, few have considered a tendency antithetical to prejudice, such as universal orientation; 5) The question of whether the lack of the ingroup-outgroup tendency (as a form of a nonprejudice cognitive style) is associated with low levels of prejudice has not been examined; and 6) With the exception of the authoritarian and dogmatic personalities, prejudice and even more so, nonprejudice, tendencies have not been considered as general cognitive or personality styles that one is predisposed to holding concerning a large range of stimuli.

The present study is aimed at addressing three of the above concerns. Its first purpose is to provide a broad means by which aspects of ones cognitive-social orientation style can be evaluated as an approach to the study of prejudice or nonprejudice. Specifically, its aim is to examine the relationship between low levels of the ingroup-outgroup tendency and their associated levels of acceptance of diversity. Of the eight inclinations previously discussed as aspects of less prejudiced cognition or universal orientation, those believed to be associated with a lack of the ingroup-outgroup tendency are theoretically

conceptualized as follows: seeking out similarities rather than differences between others and self ("similarity orientation"); interpersonal intermediary ("marginality"); non-exclusive group identification ("inclusiveness"); and egalitarian and non-status orientation ("nonhierarchicalness").

A second purpose of the study is to examine the non-presence of ingroup-outgroup orientation as a better predictor of acceptance of diversity than traditional measures of prejudice.

A third purpose of the study is to further extend the concept of the interrelatedness of prejudice to acceptance of diversity by examining how various categorical labels are evaluated, and how the evaluations are factorially related.

One anticipated contribution of this study is that it will allow examination, by way of regression analysis techniques, of whether traditional measures of prejudice are greater or less powerful predictors of acceptance of diversity than cognitive ingroup-outgroup categorization tendencies. In light of the social desirability problems associated with conventional measures of prejudice, within this study, measures are being offered that are believed to possess the capability of distinguishing between prejudiced and less prejudiced orientations.

Included within this study is the utilization of acceptance of diversity as an approach to the study of

prejudice. This is significant in that it is believed that a more constructive approach to the problem area is being taken by avoiding the negative premise intrinsic to the study of prejudice by utilizing the concepts of universal orientation, specifically, non-ingroup/outgroup cognition, and acceptance of diversity as alternatives to traditional measures. In addition, the category informativeness instrument being used, by virtue of its cover story (Appendix H) is seen as a helping task rather than as a personality or attitude questionnaire. The former therefore being of a seemingly more cognitive nature, while the latter being of a seemingly more attitudinal nature. Because of its task-like nature (i.e., the subject has an informant-like task), this instrument is more social cognition-oriented than an attitudinal questionnaire. This particular advantage is true even more so of the social-schematic orientation instrument being used in the present study because of its diagrammatic, topological and also task-like nature. These two instruments will be described in greater detail in the Methodology section.

The study of prejudice itself, by definition, is inherently biased in the negative direction. In addition, it is usually laden with reaction and social-desirability detractors. The universal orientation approach takes a more constructive, multidimensional, and inclusive approach. The "cognitive schema" approach to understanding acceptance of

diversity circumvents and avoids some of the biases associated with conventional studies of prejudice.

Research Hypotheses

The relationship of the tendency to fail to orient in terms of ingroup-outgroup and levels of prejudicial behavior will be ascertained by testing the following three major research hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1: The tendency to approach or to welcome the approach of a diversity of others will be positively associated with the Similarity Orientation, Inclusiveness, Marginality, and Nonhierarchicalness (i.e., Non-In/Outgroup) universal orientation cognitive style scores.

Hypothesis 2: The Non-In/Outgroup cognitive style components will serve as better predictors of acceptance of a diversity of others than will the Modern Racism Scale and the ProBlack scale.

The extent of interrelatedness of prejudices will be ascertained by testing the following research hypotheses:

Hypothesis 3: Acceptance of diversity responses will be interrelated across stimulus characters which will lend further support regarding prejudices being interrelated.

The related minor hypotheses that are derived from the review of the literature are as follows:

Hypothesis 4: The tendency to approach or welcome the approach of the stimuli characters (i.e., acceptance of diversity) will be positively associated with perceptions of similarity to the characters (referring to the Difference-Similarity Categorization Scores).

Hypothesis 5: High levels of the Non-Ingroup/Outgroup tendency (i.e., Similarity Orientation, Inclusiveness, Marginality, Non-Hierarchicalness, and Similarity Categorization) will be negatively associated with Modern Racism.

Hypothesis 6: High levels of the Non-ingroup/outgroup tendency (i.e., Similarity Orientation, Inclusiveness, Marginality, Non-Hierarchicalness, and Similarity Categorization) will be positively associated with Acceptance of Others.

Hypothesis 7: When responding to the stimulus characters, females will show a greater tendency to perceive similarity with the stimulus characters and greater acceptance of diversity scores than will their male counterparts.

Hypothesis 8: When responding to the stimulus characters, ethnic minorities will tend to produce higher perception of similarity scores and acceptance of diversity than their majority counterparts.

Examination of the Model

<u>Predictor Measures</u>	<u>Criterion Measures</u>
1. Non-Ingroup/Outgroup Cognitive Orientation	1. Acceptance of Diversity
a. Similarity Orientation	a. Approach Acceptance
b. Inclusiveness	b. Willing to Approach
c. Nonhierarchicalness	(These are the two measures of non-
d. Marginality	prejudice within the category
(These are the Universal Orientation measures theoretically related to a lack of the ingroup-outgroup tendency)	informativeness instrument, i.e., Questions B & C)
e. Perception of similarity to diverse others	c. Acceptance of "Lena"
(Question D of the Category Informativeness Instrument)	
2. Conventional Measures of Prejudice	
a. Modern Racism Scale, b. ProBlack Scale	
c. Acceptance of Others	

## CHAPTER 2 METHODOLOGY

In the previous literature review, several references were made to the pilot portion of the dissertation study. The pilot study methodology will first be presented, then the dissertation study methodology will follow.

### Pilot Study Methodology

The following is the methodology for the study that served as a pilot to the subsequent study.

#### Subjects

The subjects consisted of 148 undergraduate university students who were recruited from a psychology course and volunteered to participate in the study. The demographic profile of the subjects is presented in the Results chapter. The subjects were heterogeneous with regard to gender (50.7% of the students were male and 49.3% were female). When looking at the overall profile of the subjects, it was concluded that, demographically, the subjects were a fairly homogeneous group. For example, 84% of the students were European American, 96% of them were between the ages of 17 and 22, 99% of the subjects were single, only 1.4% had non-

student-affiliated occupations, and 99% of the subjects reported their income as less than 10,000 per year.

Because of the above described demographic homogeneity of the these subjects, a more heterogeneous group was recommended and sought for the subsequent study so that better demographic comparisons could be made.

### Instruments

The first study or pilot instruments consisted of:

- 1) The Self-Social Schema Orientation instrument (see Appendices B, E, F, & G) which included measures of similarity orientation, self-complexity, openness, inclusiveness, nonhierarchicalness, marginality, heterogeneity and other-centeredness. The Self-Social Schema Orientation instrument produced an overall Cronbach inter-item reliability coefficient of alpha=.79.
- 2) Demographic items were included within the Self-Social Schema Instrument (see Appendix C).

- 3) The Category Informativeness Instrument in its pilot form (see Appendix A). This instrument contained a 5-point response scale and produced a Cronbach inter-item reliability coefficient of alpha=.90. The instrument was titled, "On Knowing Others" and was designed to measure the tendency to categorize based on a limited amount of information. Its instructions were as follows:

If you are about to meet someone you have never seen or met before, and you are given only one of the

following pieces of information about that person, how much can you tell about that person? (Circle a number from 1 to 5 where 1 signifies "nothing" and 5 signifies a "great deal".) (Appendix A)

The instrument contained the following twenty-three stimuli items for the subjects to rate as instructed above:

Male; 10 years of age; Permanently in a wheel chair; American; Is an athlete; Just released from prison; 40 years of age; Female; Afro-American; Has been a patient in mental hospital for a month; A nurse; Works in a mine; High school education; Spanish-American; 20 years of age; A physician; 70 years of age; Japanese; 10 years of age; White-American; Graduate from college; Aids patient; Did not graduate from High School.

#### Procedure

The subjects were administered the above described questionnaire packet. They were allowed approximately one hour to complete the questionnaire.

#### Statistical Analyses

The statistical analyses consisted of correlating the Self-Social Schema Orientation components with the Category Informativeness items. Correlations were also calculated amongst the various components of the Self-Social Schema Orientation instrument. Thus, correlations were calculated within instruments and between instruments. The statistical analyses also consisted of a factor analysis of the Category

Informativeness instrument. Frequency analyses and calculations of means and standard deviations were conducted in order to test for inconsistencies or errors in the data entry, as well as to give summary statistics concerning the subjects and their responses. Analyses of variance and regression analyses were conducted where appropriate. The outcomes of the analyses are discussed in the subsequent Results chapter.

#### Dissertation (Study 2) Methodology

##### Subjects

253 community college students were administered the questionnaires listed in the following apparatus section. The purpose for using community college students was to attempt to obtain a more heterogeneously balanced subject population in terms of race, age and background than the population that was acquired in the pilot study.

Subjects were recruited by asking community college instructors to allow their students to participate in the study. Twelve instructors of Social Science, Sociology, Psychology, Anthropology, Public Speaking, Computer, and Cosmetology courses agreed to invite their students to participate, and agreed to offer them some form of credit as an incentive. One instructor requested that I also offer a mini-lecture(s) to his participating students regarding the research study after the all of the data needed were

collected. Such was done in the form of two mini-lectures that were offered for the benefit of the participating students for enhancement of their understanding of research and my study in particular.

A total of 675 students were invited to participate in the study. Of those, 253, or 38%, responded. Subject composition and participation are broken down by course, demographics, and instructor gender and ethnicity in the subsequent results section.

#### Instruments

The instruments of the second study are listed in order of administration and consisted of the following:

1) An informed consent (Appendix D) and R. C. Ziller's (1990a) Self-Social Schema Instrument (Appendices E, F, & G). The components of this instrument consist of similarity orientation, self-complexity, openness, inclusiveness, nonhierarchicalness, marginality, heterogeneity and other-centeredness. Six of the eight items are measured topologically. The reliability and validity of these components are discussed in depth in the "Eight universal orientation cognitive style correlates" section of the previous chapter. The Self-Social Schema Orientation instrument produced an overall Cronbach inter-item reliability coefficient of alpha=.79 in the previously discussed pilot study. The components of the Self-Social

Schema instrument have been proposed in the literature as measures of universal orientation or less prejudiced thought (Ziller, 1973, 1990; Ziller et al., 1977; Ziller & Clarke, 1987; Ziller & Hodge, 1989; Hodge, 1989; Martin & Ziller, 1990; Phillips, 1993). The purpose of utilizing the instrument in this study was to establish the usefulness of the Self-Social Schema Orientation components as predictors of acceptance of diversity.

2) Written instructions (Appendices H & I) consisting of the following cover story for the Revised Category Informativeness questionnaire (Appendices H, I, & J):

Our research team has been commissioned by a state-wide social networking club/organization which also specializes in conducting support group social functions. This particular organization was designed to help people meet with others socially (but not necessarily romantically). This club is trying to improve their advertisement campaigns in order to make specific client groups more comfortable about meeting other clients on a social level. Our objective is to first determine how much individuals know ahead of time about strangers that they are about to meet. Knowing this will help the above mentioned organization to tailor their advertisements of social events more effectively. Please answer each stranger-category item independent of all of the other items. Please answer as directly and honestly as possible. There are no right or wrong answers. All responses are anonymous. There are no means by which you can be identified. It will be helpful to us if you answer all of the questions, however you do not have to answer any question that you do not wish to answer. The instructions and questions begin on the next page. (Appendix H)

3) The Revised Category Informativeness Instrument (Appendices I & J). The specific instructions for this instrument are as follows (Appendix I):

Meeting Strangers at Social Events. . . . Pretend that you are alone at a casual social event. You are about to potentially meet some individuals that you have never seen or met before. However, in each case, you are given only one piece of information about the person. Please answer the following questions concerning your potential meeting with the stranger.

This instrument was revised in terms of the set of diverse categories of strangers being rated, and in terms of the questions that would be asked concerning each category of stranger. Sixteen stimulus items were included in the revised category informativeness instrument and were as follows: Male; Female; Just Released From Prison; Has Been A Patient In A Mental Hospital For A Month; Has AIDS; Black-American; Hispanic; Japanese; White-American; Permanently In A Wheelchair; Obese; Homosexual. Three randomly generated orderings of these twelve items were utilized and were randomly and evenly assigned in the study. The four filler items that were included consisted of four age items: 20 years of age; 30 years of age; 40 years of age; 50 years of age. The filler items were randomly ordered only once and remained consistent in their order across all three versions of the category informativeness instrument. Filler items were placed at item positions #1, #5, #9, #13 in the list of sixteen.

The criterion variable has been increased from 1 (i.e., the informativeness of the item) to 4 in the form of four questions for each of the above-listed items (compare Appendices A & I): a) How much does this piece of

information tell you about the stranger?; b) Prior to actually meeting the above stranger, how comfortable would you feel about the stranger approaching to meet you?; c) Prior to the actual meeting of the above stranger, what would be the chances of your approaching to meet the stranger first?; d) Just moments prior to actually meeting the above stranger, how similar to yourself overall would you expect the stranger to be? These dependent variables were designed to measure valuation of the categorical information, desire to avoid the category stimulus, and perception of difference (or outgroup-ness).

This revised scale also had a 7-point response scale rather than a 5 point response scale. The advantages of scales that provide potentially greater response variability has been well-documented (e.g., Kraus, 1991, p. 7).

Three randomly-generated orderings (i.e., a form A, a form B, and a form C) of this instrument were utilized and evenly distributed to guard against order effects.

It is important to note that the pilot version of this questionnaire (Appendix A) was originally designed for, and was considered at first to allow for examination of interpersonal categorization tendencies based upon a limited amount of information, i.e., an indicator of cognitive and behavioral aspects of stereotyping. The rationale accompanying the pilot version was that when one values categorical labels, one does so for stereotyping purposes.

It had been assumed that placing a high value upon categorical information when, for example meeting a stranger, was done because one was allowing oneself to rely upon stereotypes that one may have about that category. It has since been realized that individuals may value categorical information for different reasons: some for stereotyping purposes and others for the purpose of cognitively accessing vivid, in-depth thoughts or schemas that they may legitimately have about the category. Therefore, it was necessary to devise a version of the instrument that would be more informative in terms of distinguishing amongst the differing reasons for categorical valuation, including responding to negative stereotypes.

4) A qualitative question regarding Lena\* (Appendix K). The instructions regarding "Lena" are as follows: Lena\* (\*a pseudonym) is a White female, approximately 50 years old. Lena is outgoing and friendly in spite of having been born with "Proteus Syndrome" (i.e., Elephant Man's disease), and as a result, her face looks very different from most other peoples' faces. Because of the Proteus Syndrome, Lena also wears a hearing-aid. Lena sees you at the social event and smiles brightly as she approaches to meet you. Please detail your thoughts and responses as she makes her way to shake your hand.

5) Crowne and Marlowe's (1960) Social Desirability scale (Appendix L) for the purpose of examining any

correlations that are evidenced amongst the variables and response bias, and to statistically partial out its effect upon the various prejudice and nonprejudice measures. The Alpha coefficient of this scale is reported to range from .73 to .88 (Paulus, 1991). The test-retest correlations are reported to range from .84 to .88 (Paulus, 1991). The validity of the Crowne-Marlowe scale is well documented by Paulus (1991).

6) The Fey and Phillips (1955) Acceptance/Rejection of Others scale (Wrightsman, 1991; Appendix M). The presence of this scale in the study is as an indicator of general openness or acceptance of others or as an additional measure of general nonprejudice. The measures of prejudice and universal orientation will be correlated with this scale (see Hypothesis 4). The internal consistency of the scale is reported as .90, and no validity data are reported Wrightsman, 1991).

7) The Katz and Hass (1992) ProBlack Scale (Appendix N). This scale consists of 10 items that portray impressions concerning African American people in various domains such as work, education, family roles, and civil rights (Katz & Hass, 1992, p. 895). The Cronbach reliability coefficient alpha for this scale is reported to be .73 (Katz & Hass, 1992, p. 895).

8) The Modern Racism scale (McConahay, 1986; Appendix O). This instrument is to be used in this study as another

measure of prejudice aimed at African Americans. The alpha coefficient for this instrument is .81 to .86 (McConahay, 1986). McConahay (1986) demonstrates that the validity of this instrument as a measure of attitudinal resentment and antipathy toward African Americans is extensively documented.

9) A revised demographic questionnaire (Appendix P).

The entire set of instruments was re-piloted utilizing three randomly selected volunteer subjects. The average completion time for these subjects was 52 minutes.

Procedure

Thirty-four questionnaire administration sessions were offered over a 12 day period. Each session was conducted for up to a one hour, with subjects completing the set of questionnaires in 30-60 minutes. Subjects were allowed to participate in any one of the 34 sessions that was convenient for them. Zero to twenty-eight subjects attended each session with the average being 7.5 participants per session. The questionnaires were presented in packet form and were in the same order that is listed above in the instrument section.

The questionnaire administrators consisted of 3 female research assistants, 1 female graduate student and 1 male research assistant. In terms of ethnic background, these questionnaire administrators were 2 European American

females, 1 Asian American female, 1 African American female and 1 Asian American male. Interaction with the questionnaire administrators was minimal beyond the administrator reading a brief set of instructions, and the questionnaire packet was self-explanatory.

Concerns have been raised in the literature regarding assignment of ethnic administrators in studies of prejudice. It has been suggested in the literature that the use of ethnic administrators may lead to greater defensive reactivity in subject responses and may allow for even less truth in the expression of ones prejudices (Stephan, 1985, pp. 625-628; Scott, 1974). This was not a great concern in this study because as stated earlier, interaction with the administrators was minimal. Attempts to balance the administrators in terms of gender and ethnicity was difficult due to limits in their availability with regard to scheduling, travel, etc., however, every effort was made to do so when possible. Later correlational analyses of predictor and criterion variables with questionnaire administrator revealed no significant correlations. Therefore, there appears to have been no administrator related response tendencies.

The questionnaire administrators read the following instructions out loud at the beginning of each session:

The following series of questionnaires were compiled by researchers at the University of Florida. The questions are designed to provide an indication of the way you look at yourself and significant other people

in various social situations. Hopefully, it will tell us something about differences among people in their perceptions of themselves and others. Your responses are anonymous and are identifiable only by your own 4-digit identification number. You have the option of using the last 4-digits of your social security or telephone number as your anonymous i.d.#, Or you may create one. There are no anticipated risks involved in the study. The potential benefit of this study is an increased understanding of human relationships. Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. You are free to withdraw your consent and discontinue participation at any time without penalty. You do not have to answer any question you do not wish to answer. As the researchers, we cannot offer any compensation for participation in the study, however, some students have been offered extra credit by their instructors for participation. It is very important that those students fill out a "participation verification" form after completing the study. If you have any questions regarding the study, please contact the principal investigator sponsor, Dr. Robert Ziller, dept. Of psychology, university of florida, (904) 392-0429 or attend one of the mini-lectures that will be presented on April 20th and 21st at 2:00 and at 2:30pm each day on SFCC's main campus in A-26. It is our understanding that Dr. Lamar Jack's participating students are required to attend one of the mini-lectures in addition to filling out the research questionnaire in order to receive extra credit for the study. Please detach the informed consent attached to the questionnaire packet and retain it for your own information. Please work as quickly as possible and follow all instructions very carefully. Completion of the entire questionnaire packet requires approximately 30-50 minutes (and we have no time to lose). We sincerely appreciate your assistance in this research project. You may now begin.

The questionnaire instructors had been given very specific instructions, in writing, delineating the specifics of the conducting of each session. Basically, they were instructed to distribute the questionnaire packets, read the above instructions, address any questions, collect packets; obtain debriefing initials. The specific research assistant instructions were as follows:

Step 1- Within 5 minutes of the beginning of the session, distribute the questionnaire packets by placing them on their desks face down. Be sure that they have their pen or pencil ready; Step 2- Read the informed consent out loud; Step 3- After they have begun, make yourself available to answer any general questions or concerns that they might have. Answer only from the instructions. Do not give away unnecessary information which could contaminate responses. If necessary, explain that you are only a research assistant, and refer them to Dr. Ziller or the Mini-Lecture. To insure uniformity, they need to go carefully by the instructions that are provided for them; Step 4- Open the participation verification folder so that it faces the subjects so that when they turn in their packet, it will be easy to see; Step 5- When the subjects bring their packet to you, please check to be sure that the same i.d. is on all three parts. Ask them the name of the instructor who referred them to the study. Most of the students will be receiving extra credit. If there is any question about whether they do or don't receive it, I've attached a list for you showing which instructors are offering extra credit; Step 6- Then have them to sign out on the participation verification form that is designated for their instructor. While they are signing out, it is important that you place two sets of initials: a) put their instructor's initials on the first page of the questionnaire packet in the upper right corner; b) then be sure that you, the research assistant, then place your initials after their social security number on the participation verification form, for each one that signs. Then refer them to the next step; Step 7- Have one copy of the debriefing form taped to the corner of the desk closest to the door. After they have turned in their packet and signed out, instruct them to read the debriefing form taped to the desk and initial it when done to verify that they have read it. Thank them for their participation; Step 8- If you run into overtime, do not worry unless it seems that another class is scheduled immediately following. In that case, you will have to ask the remaining subjects to step outside into the hallway and complete it (hopefully, you can find a desk or table nearby). In this case, still be sure to follow all of the other step (e.g., signing out, etc.); Step 9- In all but three of the sessions, I will be lurking about nearby somewhere. Perhaps in Room 108 if at the DTC, or K-242 if at the Main Campus, or maybe even just down the hall or in a nearby classroom. Please bring me the collected data, the unused packets, the participation verification folder, the initialed debriefing

statement, etc. Keep in mind that if anything comes up in a session that you are not sure about handling, come and ask me, or call me. Remember that I appreciate your assistance, and I am here to help you and make this a learning experience. Also, if you need a ride to the sessions, just arrange with me ahead of time.

The debriefing form that the subjects were required to read and initial upon leaving the session was stated as follows:

**Debriefing Statement:** The purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between the tendency for acceptance of diversity and general acceptance of people. In Part 2 of the series of questionnaires, you were told that a social support/networking agency desired to improve their advertising campaigns regarding social events. That was merely a cover story to aid in obtaining information pertaining to the study without biasing your responses. The information that was desired in that portion of the study was related to labels and their impact upon your acceptance of diverse others. Again, the purpose of the study was to further examine acceptance of diversity characteristics. We would appreciate your not sharing details about the questions, the specific nature, nor the specific purpose of the study with other students because such information could influence the responses of future participants. If there are any questions that we can answer, please do not hesitate to ask us now or contact the research sponsor, Dr. Robert Ziller at the University of Florida, 392-0429, or join one of our mini-lectures being held April 20 & 21, at 2:00 and at 2:30pm each day on SFCC's campus in A-26. We sincerely appreciate your participation in the study. Thank you. (Appendix Q)

#### Statistical Analyses

As will be demonstrated in the subsequent Results chapter, the statistical analyses of the data consisted of descriptive statistics, frequency analyses, factor analyses, multi-method multi-trait analyses, correlational analyses,

analyses of variance, regression analyses. In the case of the "Lena" variable, content analyses were conducted.

The number of variables analyzed were much greater than the number analyzed in the pilot study because of the increase in the number and format of the instruments and variables. Frequency analyses and calculations of means and standard deviations were conducted in order to test for inconsistencies or errors in the data entry, as well as to give summary statistics concerning the subjects and their responses.

Factor analyses and multi-method multi-trait analyses of the Category Informativeness items were conducted and the factors were then correlated with the Self-Social Schema Orientation components. Analyses of variance and regression analyses were conducted where appropriate. The outcomes of the analyses are discussed in the subsequent Results chapter.

CHAPTER 3  
RESULTS OF THE PILOT STUDY

Introduction

The purpose of the pilot study was to explore data involving the Self-Social Schema Orientation Instrument (Appendices B, E, F, & G) as predictor variable measures and a preliminary draft of the Categorical Informativeness Instrument (Appendix A) as a criterion measure. The main hypothesis for the pilot study was that the Self-Social Schema Orientation variables would be negatively associated with valuation of categorical or labeling information as measured by the Categorical Informativeness Instrument. Another purpose of the pilot study was to help generate ideas for a more grounded theoretical approach to the study of prejudice.

Subject Composition

The subjects utilized in the pilot study turned out to be a very homogeneous group. Except for the gender distribution which consisted of fairly equal proportions of men and women, variability in the other demographic characteristics was lacking. As can be seen in Table 1,

European Americans made up 84% of the sample, while African Americans made up 9% and other minorities made up 7% of the sample. Ninety-six percent of the subjects were between the ages of 17 and 22. The overall age range was between 17 and 66 with the mean age being 19.50 years, with only 4% being between 23 and 66, and even less (i.e., 1.4%) being above age 30.

Ninety-nine percent of the subjects were single, 1% were married, and none were divorced. Ninety-nine percent of them listed "Student" as their occupation, indicating that most of the subjects were full-time students and were not holding occupations that would be characterized as employment. The other 1% of the subjects indicated that they were holding non-student-affiliated occupations.

All of the students were high school graduates. Forty-seven percent of the students were freshman, 25% were sophomores, 13% were juniors, 10% were seniors and less than 5% were post-baccalaureate-or-beyond students.

Ninety-nine percent of the subjects indicated that their income was below \$10,000 annually. The average income of the students was \$2,800 annually. The range of the income was between \$0 - \$56,000. However, 84% of the students reported income of \$5,000 or less; 13% reported incomes between \$6,000 - \$10,000; and 3.6% reported incomes between \$12,000 - \$56,000. It is important to note that

this particular variable however did not directly address the question of parental income.

When looking at the overall profile of the subjects, we can conclude that, demographically, the subjects were a fairly homogeneous group. It was determined that one necessary objective beyond the scope of the pilot study was to obtain a more heterogeneous sample in terms of these demographic variables so that better demographic comparisons could be observed.

Table 1: Summary of the Demographic Characteristics of the Pilot Study Subjects

Demographic Variables	Proportions		
Gender	51% Male	49% Female	1% Unspecified
Ethnicity	84% White	9% Black	7% Other
Age	96% (17-22)	4% (23-66)	
Mar. Status	99% Single	1% Married	0% Divorced or Widowed
Education	99% College Students		1% Beyond 4-Year Degree
Occupation	99% "Student" Listed as Occupation		
Income	96% Between \$0-\$10,000/yr.	Income	

\*sample size = 149

#### Criterion Variables

The final version of the criterion variables were obtained by analyses of the original Category

Informativeness Instrument (Appendix A). The Category Informativeness Instrument is an indicator of category informativeness and was originally devised as a measure of prejudice behavior. The items of this instrument in its original form consisted of twenty-three different labels regarding hypothetical strangers (e.g., Male, 10 Years of Age, In a Wheelchair) to which subjects were to respond by indicating how informative they felt each label would be prior to meeting the stranger. Responses to these items were factor analyzed using principal components extraction with Quartimax rotations as has been used in other studies (e.g., Fletcher et al., 1986, pp. 877-878). This procedure allows for the emergence of a general factor, but does not guarantee it. Varimax is more frequently used but would be less appropriate here, since it tends to break-up general factors.

These analyses appeared to yield between 4-6 identifiable factors. Three follow-up factor analyses were then conducted with the number of factors set at 4, 5, and 6, and were rotated to the Quartimax criterion. The five factor solution was judged to be the most productive and appropriate. These factors were judged significant by the criteria of the eigenvalue above one rule. As is observed in Table 2, the types of items producing high loadings on the five factors appear to consist of the following: 1) All of the items (Eigenvalue=5.47); 2) The gender items

(Eigenvalue=1.73); 3) The stigmatized or outgroup items (Eigenvalue=1.68); 4) The Ethnic items (Eigenvalue=1.65); 5) The "All-American" or ingroup items, though very weak and difficult to interpret at the time (Eigenvalue=1.08). The first factor, which is referred to as the general informativeness factor, accounted for 47% of the variance in the responses. The second through fifth factors accounted for considerably less variance in the responses (i.e., 15%, 14%, 14%, and 9% respectively). Factors below the 1.0 eigenvalue criterion accounted for the other 1% of the variance accounted for in the responses.

Related to these factor analysis results, several additional variables were created for possible use as sub-variables. These sub-variables were created by adding together subject responses on similar category items. For example, all of the race/ethnic item scores were summed for each subject, all of the age items were summed for each subject, etc. The items that were utilized to create these sub-variables are indicated by the asterisks within each factor in Table 2 above. In order to compare subject's overall responses on these newly created sub-variables, the indicated item responses were also averaged in order to make comparisons amongst them possible as done in the following table, Table 3. As can be noted from the table, the various types of items did not vary significantly in their

Table 2: Pilot Study Factor Loadings of the Category Informativeness Items

Category Items	General Factor1	Gender Factor2	Outgroup Factor3	Ethnic Factor4	Ingroup Factor5
Male	.35*	.78*	-.03	.07	.13
10 Years Old	.41*	.35	.09	-.17	-.07
Wheelchaired	.34*	.06	.36*	.13	-.03
American	.30*	.09	-.14	.24*	.60*
Athlete	.40*	.06	.17	.05	.42
Prison	.36*	.11	.59*	-.16	.04
40 Years Old	.62*	.22	.10	.10	-.02
Female	.40*	.76*	.05	.19	.09
Afro-American	.30*	.29	.22	.62*	.18
Mental Patient	.33*	-.08	.62*	.13	.03
Nurse	.59*	-.06	.06	.03	-.02
Mine Worker	.41*	-.13	.09	.37	.05
H.S Educated	.58*	.13	.04	.15	.03
Spanish-American	.47*	.14	.03	.61*	.20
20 Years Old	.66*	.21	-.13	-.05	.31*
Physician	.70*	-.21	.19	-.13	-.06
70 Years Old	.76*	.09	.02	.09	-.19
Japanese	.54*	-.01	.09	.66*	-.02
White-American	.52*	.30	-.18	.15*	.48*
College Graduate	.69*	-.02	.02	-.15	.18
Aids Patient	.33*	.02	.63*	.13	-.19
Not H.S.Graduate	.47*	-.07	.44	.13	.06

\* = Item included in factor-based sub-variables created.  
 Note: Factor loadings have been Quartimax rotated.

Table 3: Pilot Study Category Informativeness, By Type

Category Type	Mean	S.D.
Stigmatizing/Outgroup Items	2.88	.83
Age Items*	2.79	.76
Educational Items*	2.76	.72
Occupational Items*	2.72	.65
Gender Items	2.38	1.06
Ethnic Items	2.22	.73

\* = Factor analyses did not produce a factor that coincided with this variable. However, the factor had been created *a priori* and was found useful for comparison purposes such as these depicted above.

informational value and could be considered fairly equitable in terms of how much it is felt these categories of information tell about others that we meet.

The total Category Informativeness scores were correlated with the demographic variables. No significant associations were found.

#### Predictor Variables

The predictor variables of the pilot study consisted of the nine components of the Self-Social Schema Orientation Instrument (i.e., Appendices E, F, & G). The Self-Social Schema Orientation Instrument consists of items that are believed to be measure of nonprejudiced cognitive styles. They include measures of Similarity Orientation, Cognitive

Complexity; and seven diagrammatic variables, Inclusiveness, Marginality, Openness A, Openness B, Heterogeneity, Nonhierarchicalness and Other-centeredness. Product Moment Pearson correlational analyses were conducted among each of the nine components of the instrument in order to determine which components were associated with one another. The findings are presented in Table 4. As can be seen in the table, the components did not correlate with one another in any easily observable pattern. However, the Marginality and Similarity Orientation components appear to correlate most frequently with the other components.

Thus, the results concerning the Category Informativeness score correlations were not consistent amongst the various Self-Social Schema components. Nor were the Self-Social Schema components correlation results consistent amongst themselves. Because of this intermittent nature of the component intercorrelations, it was determined that the focus of the major study would need to be practically and theoretically limited. In other words, the number of variables and the scope of what it means to be nonprejudiced would need to be more focused or narrowed. Up to this point nonprejudice had been theoretically described as multi-faceted, consisting of a minimum of nine different components as measured by the Self-Social Schema Orientation instrument. It became clear that the multi-facets of nonprejudice needed to be narrowed, or that one theoretical

Table 4: Correlations Among the Self-Social Schema Measures in the Pilot Study

Variable	Simort	Inclus	Nonhier	Marg
Similarity Orientation	1.00	.13	.08	.18*
Inclusiveness	-.13	1.00	-.02	.21*
Nonhierarchicalness	.08	-.02	1.00	-.06
Marginality	.18*	.21*	-.06	1.00
Openness A	.27*	.02	.07	.05
Openness B	.33*	.04	.11	.07
Heterogeneity	.15	.09	.09	.18*
Othercenteredness	.09	-.02	.09	-.16
Cognitive Complexity	.07	-.16	-.06	-.01

Variable	OpenA	OpenB	Hetgen	Othcent	Cogcomp
Similarity Orientation	.27*	.33*	.15	.09	.07
Inclusiveness	.02	.04	.09	.02	-.16
Nonhierarchicalness	.07	.11	.09	.09	-.06
Marginality	.05	.07	.18*	-.16	-.01
Openness A	1.00	.82**	.10	.02	.11
Openness B	.82**	1.00	.18*	.09	.12
Heterogeneity	.10	.18*	1.00	.13	.10
Othercenteredness	.02	.09	.13	1.00	-.06
Cognitive Complexity	.11	.12	.10	-.06	1.00

\*=Significant at p<.05 level; \*\*=at p<.01 level.

facet of non-prejudice needed to be focused upon in the subsequent study. This thought was kept in mind as the pilot data were further explored and ideas for the major study were being generated.

Product moment Pearson correlational analyses were conducted on the nine Self-Social Schema Orientation components and the demographic variables. The findings are depicted in Table 5. Most notable are the correlations that indicate: that being female in this study is positively and significantly associated with nonhierarchicalness, general openness A and minority openness B ( $r's=.20, .24, .22$ , respectively,  $p's<.05$ ); that age is positively and significantly associated with similarity orientation and negatively and significantly associated with general openness ( $r's=.17$  and  $-.19$ , respectively,  $p's<.05$ ); that income is negatively associated with general openness A ( $r=-.20$ ,  $p<.05$ ).

The gender correlations noted above, and displayed below in Table 5, suggest that the female students in the sample (on average) may think or schematize less in terms of status (or hierarchies) and more in terms of equitable social cognitive configurations (i.e., the nonhierarchies) that the diagrammatic items represented.

The gender correlation with general openness may suggest that the female students in the sample may be more open with respect to others in their social world, than are

their male counterparts. The gender correlation with minority openness suggests that the females in the sample may have been more open to those others that are of minority status within the social cognitive configurations that these diagrammatic items represented.

Table 5: Demographic Associations Evidenced in the Pilot Study

Independent Variables	Subject Demographic Characteristics				
	Gender	Race/Ethn.	Age	Education	Income
Similarity Orientation	.02	-.09	.17*	.08	.08
Inclusiveness	-.14	.10	.01	.05	-.11
Nonhierarchicalness	.20*	-.13	-.08	-.06	-.01
Marginality	-.05	.03	.06	.13	-.09
Openness A	.24**	-.07	-.19*	-.16	-.20*
Openness B	.22**	-.01	-.16	-.16	-.15
Heterogeneity	.03	.06	.10	.06	.09
Other-Centeredness	.11	.09	.05	.03	.03
Cognitive-Complexity	-.04	-.08	-.01	.01	-.05
Category informativeness (Criterion Var.)	.04	-.13	-.15	-.05	-.14

\* = Significant at  $p < .05$  level; \*\* = at  $p < .01$  level.

The significant income correlation with general openness suggests that the less wealthy students in the

sample were more generally open to others in their social cognitive configurations represented by their diagrammatic responses.

#### Relating the Criterion and Predictor Variables

Reliability measures were calculated for the nine components of the Self-Social Schema Instrument (Appendices E, F, & G) as well as for the Category Informativeness Instrument (Appendix A) utilizing the Cronbach Alpha index of internal consistency. The computed Cronbach Alphas are presented in Table 6. The findings demonstrate that the criterion variable Categorical Informativeness Instrument and the predictor variable Self-Social Schema Instrument in its complete form both had good reliability measures for research purposes (i.e., .90 and .79, respectively). However, it is important to note that the Cronbach Alpha coefficient is an internal consistency measure and may not be totally appropriate for the combined nine and seven variable Self-social Schema packet (indicated by asterisks) since the variables that make up these instruments are to a degree considered different or possibly independent components of Non-prejudice or Universal Orientation.

As a first means of relating the criterion and predictor variables, correlations were performed to test for associations among valuation of categorical information as measured by the Category Informativeness Instrument and

Table 6: Reliability Measures of Pilot Study Instruments

Instrument/Component	Cronbach Alpha
Category Informativeness Instrument- 23 items	.90
Similarity Orientation Component- 21 items	.68
Cognitive Complexity Component- 64 items	Indeterminate
Openness A Component- 4 items	.98
Openness B Component- 3 items	.84
Inclusiveness Component- 7 items	.93
Nonhierarchicalness Component- 4 items	.86
Marginality Component- 4 items	.63
Heterogeneity Component- 4 items	.55
Othercenteredness Component- 2 items	.30
*Self-social Schema Packet (all 9 variables)	.79
*Self-social Schema Packet (7 diagrammatic variables only)	.38

nonprejudicial cognitive style as measured by the Self-Social Schema Orientation Instrument. The findings are summarized in Table 7. The predictor variables that were most productive in terms of relating to the criterion variables were Similarity Orientation and Inclusiveness. As Similarity Orientation increased, total valuation of categorical information, valuation of racial/ethnic information and valuation of stigmatizing or outgroup information significantly decreased ( $r's = -.18, -.19$ , and  $-.17$ , respectively,  $p's < .05$ ). Likewise, as responses on the

variable Inclusiveness increase, total valuation of categorical information, valuation of racial/ethnic information and valuation of age-related information significantly decreased ( $r$ 's= -.19, -.19, and -.17, respectively,  $p$ 's<.05).

The Othercenteredness variable correlated negatively and significantly with valuation of occupational information,  $r$  = -.21,  $p$ <.05. Cognitive complexity correlated significantly, but surprisingly, positively with

Table 7: The Pilot Study Self-Social Schema and Category Informativeness Correlations

Schema Variable	<u>Category Informativeness Variables</u>							
	Total Score	Ethnic Score	Gender Score	Stigma Score	Age Score	Educ. Score	Occup. Score	
Similarity Orientation	-.18*	-.19*	-.10	-.17*	-.12	-.04	-.12	
Inclusiveness	-.19*	-.19*	-.16	-.11	-.17*	-.14	-.04	
Nonhierarchicalessness	-.07	.05	-.05	-.14	.00	-.09	-.10	
Marginality	-.00	.01	-.04	-.09	.06	.02	.02	
Openness A	.02	-.08	.05	.09	-.03	.08	.04	
Openness B	.01	-.09	.01	.11	-.03	.09	.00	
Heterogeneity	.00	.01	.04	-.07	-.06	.02	.09	
Othercenteredness	-.14	-.04	-.05	-.09	-.13	-.10	-.21*	
Cognitive Complexity	.09	.17*	.16	.05	.06	-.03	-.03	

\*=Significant at  $p$ <.05 level; \*\*=at  $p$ <.01 level.

valuation of racial/ethnic information indicating that the more complex the self, the more highly valued is racial/ethnic categorical information,  $r = .17$ ,  $p < .05$ .

The Similarity Orientation and Inclusiveness variables ability to correlate with the major criterion variable was noteworthy. Because of these intercorrelations, the theoretical positioning of the major study was first formulated by asking the question: what do these two variables theoretically have in common? Theoretically, it has been argued that these two variables have diminished ingroup-outgroup cognitive tendencies in common. The other seven Self-Social Schema variables were reconsidered and theoretically re-examined for the presence of a diminished ingroup-outgroup cognitive tendency. As described in the previous chapter, arguments were made also for the Nonhierarchy and Marginality variables to be included as possible forms of diminished ingroup-outgroup cognitive tendency variables. The outcomes of the use of these variables in this manner are described below in the Study 2 section.

The final phase of the pilot data analyses involved the performance of a multiple regression analyses in order to ascertain the best predictors of the total category informativeness scores which was the major criterion variable. Based on the associations previously identified above between the Self-Social Schemas and the Category

Informativeness variables, a regression analysis was conducted. As Table 8 below depicts, six variables were entered into the model as possible predictors of total valuation of category information as measured by the pilot version of the Category Informativeness Instrument.

Similarity Orientation and Inclusiveness were the Self-Social Schema variables that were entered into the model because they correlated most frequently with the Category Informativeness variables in the pilot study as demonstrated in Table 7 above. Other-centeredness and Cognitive Complexity were entered because they each showed one significant association with one of the Category Informativeness variables (i.e., valuation of occupational information and valuation of racial/ethnic information, respectively).

Finally, although no demographic variables significantly correlated with valuation of categorical information, subject ethnicity and gender were entered into the model because they, if any, were expected to be the variables that might be influential or could possibly increase prediction most likely as moderator variables. As shown in the table below, these variables carried no significant predictive power. The table below does show however that Inclusiveness and Similarity Orientation were significant predictors of valuation of categorical information wherein higher levels of Inclusiveness and

Similarity Orientation were predictive of lower levels of category or label valuation in this sample.

Table 8: Summary of the Multiple Regression Analysis of the Hypothesized Predictors of Total Valuation of Categorical Information

Source	SS	MS	df	Adjusted		F	p-value
				R <sup>2</sup>	R <sup>2</sup>		
Model	2363	394	6	.11	.07	2.822	.0128
Error	18982	140	136				
Predictor Variables				Regression Coefficients		t	p-value
Inclusiveness				-.87	-2.47		.0147
Similarity Orientation				-.27	-2.28		.0244
Other-Centeredness				-1.94	-1.28		.2027
Cognitive Complexity				1.00	.87		.3854
Subject Race/Ethnicity				-2.31	-1.29		.2010
Subject Gender				.35	.18		.8615

At this point within the pilot study an attempt was made to theoretically tie together Similarity Orientation and Inclusiveness. Absence of the ingroup-outgroup cognitive tendency was considered as the common theme that each possess. The other Self-Social Schema Orientation components were also reconsidered in light of this theme. Similarity Orientation, Inclusiveness, along with, Marginality and Nonhierarchicalness were selected for the subsequent study as components that can be interpreted as

having an absence of the ingroup-outgroup cognitive tendency. These were the four variables that were expected to be most predictive of a form of nonprejudice known as acceptance of diverse others. The Categorical Informativeness Instrument was at this point revised to include three additional questions or variables whose purpose was to ascertain acceptance of diversity (Appendices I & J, concerning the Revised Categorical Informativeness Scale).

Given these findings and the ideas generated by them, it can be concluded that the pilot study served its purpose well in three ways. For one, it was very useful as an exploratory tool. Secondly, it stimulated the development of theoretical hypotheses. Finally, it was very useful in the subsequent development of an improved, narrowed and simplified version of the criterion variable.

CHAPTER 4  
RESULTS OF THE STUDY OF NONPREJUDICE

Introduction

This study succeeded and extended the pilot study. Its major purpose was to obtain a more heterogeneous sampling of subjects, and to test the relationship of the Self-Social Schema Orientation theoretically diminished ingroup-outgroup cognition components as predictors of an improved version of the Categorical Informativeness measure. To summarize the hypotheses that were delineated in the previous chapter, the diminished ingroup-outgroup Self-Social Schema variables (which were proposed to be Similarity Orientation, Inclusiveness, Marginality and Nonhierarchicalness) were expected to be positively associated with acceptance of diverse others as measured by the improved version of the Categorical Informativeness Instrument. In other words, those who possessed non-ingroup-outgroup cognitive styles of thought would express more willingness to be approached by, and to approach, diverse others. In addition, it was expected that the Self-Social Schema Orientation variables would be better predictors of acceptance of diverse others than traditional measures such as the Modern Racism Scale.

This discussion will now turn to the results that were found regarding these expectations.

#### Subject Composition

The objective of utilizing community college students for the purpose of obtaining a more diverse sample was achieved as demonstrated in Tables 9, 10, 11, and 12.

Table 9 shows that in comparison to the pilot study results, greater demographic diversity was achieved on every variable except gender. Males and females participated equally in the pilot study, whereas in the current study, more females participated (69.9%) than males (30.1%). However, considerably more non-Whites, non-single, working, and mature students participated relative to that achieved in the pilot study. Sixteen percent of the subjects in the pilot study were non-White whereas 32% in the second study were. Of the pilot study subjects, only 1% listed an additional occupation other than that of student whereas 62% of the subjects in the second study listed themselves as working. Only 1% of the pilot study subjects were not single. However, twenty-nine percent of the subjects in the second study were not single and therefore were married or divorced. Significant diversity was also achieved in terms of the age variable in the second study. In the pilot study, only 4% of the subjects were above age 22, while in

the second study, 35% were above 22, yielding a 31% increase in mature students. The mean age was 24, and the range

Table 9: The Demographics of the Study 2 Subjects

Variable	N	Frequencies (%)
Gender	251	30.1 (M), 69.9 (F)
Age	233	65.2 (17-23), 23.6 (24-33), 11.2 (34-58)
Ethnicity	249	68.5 W, 16.7 B, 2.0 Nat. Amer., 1.6 Asian, 5.6 Hisp., 2.8 South/Cent. Amer., 3.2 Other
U.S. Citizenship	250	92.4 (Y), 7.6 (N)
Marital Status	249	70.7 Sing., 20.5 Mar., 0.4 Sep., 8.4 Div.
Occupation	244	37.7 Student Only, 62.3 Additional Occup.
Employment Status	246	35.4 None, 43.9 Part-time, 20.7 Full-time
Political Affiliation	213	33.8 Rep., 44.6 Dem., 19.2 Indep. 2.3 Other
Religious Affiliation	242	76.4 (Y), 23.6 (N)
Siblings (Y or N)	239	88.7 (Y), 11.3 (N)
Handicapped	248	4.8 (Y), 95.2 (N)
Handicapped Friend	245	20.8 (Y), 79.2 (N)
Biracial	250	10.4 (Y), 89.6 (N)
C. Diversity Course	253	12.3 (Y), 87.7 (N)
Cat.Inform.Instrument	253	33.6 Form A, 33.2 Form B, 33.2 Form C

Table 10: Computed Means of the Continuous Demographic Variables

Variable	N	Mean	Std. Dev.
Subjects' Age	233	23.97	6.81
Education	243	13.53	1.35
Personal Income/yr	180	\$9,728	\$841
Parents' Income/yr	157	\$47,414	\$2,836
Religious Devotion(1-7)	210	4.32	1.87
Number of Schools	213	3.74	2.54
Number of Moves	246	1.81	3.00
Total No. of Siblings	247	3.32	2.46
Birth Order	231	2.46	1.73
No. of Death Losses	249	1.64	0.97

extended from age 17 to age 58. In the pilot study, the age range was between 17 and 66, but the mean was 19.50 years. The means and standard deviations for the continuous demographic variables in the current study are presented in Table 10 which follows Table 9.

Various measures were also taken in an attempt to avoid course, investigator and instructor demography influences. As shown in Table 11 below, subjects were recruited from a variety of courses including Anthropology, Computer Science, Cosmetology, Psychology, Public Speaking, Social Science, and Sociology. The overall response rate, as indicated by Tables 11 and 12, was 38%.

Table 11: Courses from which Subjects were Recruited

Type of Course	No. of Instructors	Students Invited	Proportion Responded	Proportion of Total Respondents
Anthropology	2	50	10/50 (20%)	10/257 (4%)
Computers	1	60	14/60 (23%)	14/257 (5%)
Cosmetology	1	25	6/25 (24%)	6/257 (2%)
Psychology	3	185	92/185 (50%)	92/257 (36%)
Public Speaking	1	25	15/25 (60%)	15/257 (6%)
Social Science	1	45	10/45 (22%)	10/257 (4%)
Sociology	3	285	110/285 (39%)	110/257 (43%)
Total	12	675	257/675 (38%)	257/675 (38%)

Note: Overall response rate was 257/675 (38%)

The subjects that participated were invited to attend one of 34 scheduled data collection sessions. The gender and ethnic make-up of the questionnaire administrators was varied across the 34 data collection sessions as much as possible within the constraints of the five administrators' availability. The administrators consisted of two European American females, one African American female, one Asian American female, and one Asian American male. Statistical analyses were run on the predictor and criterion variables with the administrator ethnic/gender variables. No significant relationships were found indicating that there were no administrator influences.

Careful attention was paid to the balancing of the gender and ethnic make-up of the instructors from whose classes the students were recruited. As much balance as possible was attempted across gender and ethnic lines with regard to the instructors through whom the subjects were recruited. Table 12 demonstrates the degree of gender and ethnic balance of participating instructors and the degree of student participation that was achieved through them. No noteworthy correlations were evidenced indicating that instructor, course, or survey administrator were associated with subject responses on the predictor and criterion response measures.

Table 12: Response Rates by Instructor Demography

Instructor Gender/ Ethnicity	No. of Students Invited To Participate	Proportion of Students Responded	Proportion of Total Respondents
WM (3)	170/675 (25%)	66/170 (39%)	66/257 (26%)
WF (4)	180/675 (27%)	90/180 (50%)	90/257 (35%)
BM (3)	130/675 (19%)	39/130 (30%)	39/257 (15%)
BF (2)	195/675 (29%)	62/195 (32%)	62/257 (24%)
<b>Total (12)</b>	<b>675/675</b>	<b>257/675 (38%)</b>	<b>257/675 (38%)</b>

Note: Overall response rate was 257/675 (38%)

It is also noted that equal numbers of subjects received each of the three randomly generated versions of portions of the questionnaire packet (see Table 9 above,

"Categ. Inform. Instrument" variable). That is, 33.6% received version A, 33.2% received version B, and 33.2% received version C. Thus, obtaining a more heterogeneous subject sample was achieved while balancing as much as possible other influences.

#### Criterion Variables

The main criterion variables are contained within the Revised Category Informativeness questionnaire (Appendices I & J) which asks subjects to respond to a variety of stimulus persons (i.e., strangers) that they might meet at a party. Theoretically, two of these criterion variables consisted of category or label-stimulated approach or avoidance of others as an indication of prejudicial/nonprejudicial behavior (Appendix I). A third criterion variable consisted of the subject perceptions of their similarity to the stimulus characters (Appendix I). The final criterion variable consisted of subjects' responses to the detailed profile of a hypothetical stranger named "Lena" (Appendix K).

#### Factor Analyses

The final version of the criterion variables were arrived at in the following manner. Factor analyses (Table 13) of the 253 subject responses on the four components of the Revised Category Informativeness Questionnaire (Appendices I & J) were conducted. The factor analyses were conducted utilizing principal components extraction with Varimax

rotation. Two factors were judged significant for each of the four questionnaire components by the eigenvalue greater than one criterion. The high loadings on the two factors consisted primarily of sociological outgroup and ingroup character items. For example, the high loading items found within the first factor, i.e., the outgroup factor, consists of the Mental, Prison, AIDS, and Homosexual items. The high loading items found within the second factor, the ingroup factor, consists of the Male, Age 20, White, and Female items. This trend was most prominent for question components B and C, the two approach components, and D, the perception of similarity component, and was also evidenced to a lesser degree for component A, category informational valuation. Question A in the current study consisted of the same question that was asked in the pilot study regarding the informational value of the items. The factor analyses results of this component were similar to those found in the pilot study wherein a large general, informational factor was evidenced along with several other smaller, more specified factors following (in this case, apparently a stigmatized members or sociological outgroup factor).

The ingroup and outgroup factors that appear to emerge in the information valuation (A), likely to approach (B), open to an approach (C) and perceived similar (D) components of the Revised Category Informativeness questionnaire (Appendix I & J) results indicate that two types of

Table 13: Factor Loadings of the Revised Categorical Informativeness Items

Labels	Information Valuation(A)		Likely to Approach(B)		Open to an Approach(C)		Perceived Similar(D)	
	Factors*: 1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
Age 30	.70	.32	.65	.46	.56	.54	.18	.69
Hispanic	.73	.33	.59	.46	.51	.56	.40	.54
Male	.79	.22	.78	.19	.71	.35	.49	.42
Japanese American	.67	.39	.48	.60	.46	.64	.27	.61
Age 20	.59	.49	.81	.17	.77	.25	.81	.06
Mental Patient	.29	.84	.23	.77	.30	.75	.07	.70
Obese	.59	.57	.49	.56	.50	.63	.23	.67
Aids	.38	.72	.13	.80	.21	.78	.18	.72
Age 50	.60	.53	.45	.58	.49	.63	.12	.76
Prison Releasee	.30	.85	.33	.66	.21	.75	-.01	.78
Homosexual	.30	.73	.08	.76	.11	.70	-.05	.73
Black American	.68	.50	.62	.39	.60	.52	.36	.44
Age 40	.73	.34	.57	.44	.60	.54	.16	.64
White American	.77	.29	.79	.26	.84	.23	.77	.19
Wheelchair Bound	.53	.58	.33	.51	.46	.51	.39	.58
Female	.76	.34	.75	.11	.78	.12	.82	-.02

\*Factor 1 was generally interpreted as Ingroup Acceptance;  
 Factor 2 was generally interpreted as Outgroup Acceptance.

acceptance/prejudice emerge as new social stimuli are cognitively assessed. These two prejudices appear to manifest themselves by the differential responses that occur (via the factor analyses) wherein the most conventional social stimuli characters or "ingroup" (i.e., male, female, White, age 20) are responded to in a different manner than the least conventional characters or "outgroup" (i.e., mental, AIDS, prison, homosexual). These two factors have been termed the ingroup factor and the outgroup factor, respectively and support one of the hypotheses that was set forth. The third hypothesis stated that acceptance of diversity responses would be interrelated across stimulus characters. These factor analyses results support this hypothesis as a minimum number of factors were produced, and high interrelationship amongst items are indicated.

#### Multi-Method Multi-Trait Analyses

A Multi-trait, Multi-method analysis of the A (category informativeness), B (willingness to approach categories), C (willingness to be approached by categories) and D (perception of self-similarity to categories) Category Informativeness components was conducted utilizing the combined highest four ingroup and combined highest four outgroup items. The results are presented in Table 14. In multi-method multi-trait matrices such as that depicted below in Table 14, correlational validity coefficients are represented in the cells of the table. These numbers are an

index of consistency of assessment across methods. The numbers in parentheses along the principal diagonal represent the reliability coefficients of the question or method items (Anastasi, 1988, p. 157).

Table 14: Multi-Method Multi-Trait Variable Analysis

Method A		Method B		Method C		Method D	
F1	F2	F1	F2	F1	F2	F1	F2
<b>Method A</b>							
F1	(.87)						
F2	.70**	(.88)					
<b>Method B</b>							
F1	.24**	.22**	(.85)				
F2	-.08	-.14*	.47**	(.80)			
<b>Method C</b>							
F1	.26**	.18**	.68**	.36**	(.85)		
F2	.01	-.11	.35**	.79**	.56**	(.81)	
<b>Method D</b>							
F1	.33**	.31**	.54**	.11	.60**	.20**	(.76)
F2	-.02	-.10	.22**	.64**	.28**	.65**	.29**(.80)

\*=Significant at p<.05 level; \*\*=at p<.01 level.

Note: F1=Factor 1 (Ingroup Factor), F2=Factor 2 (Outgroup Factor)

In order to interpret the multi-method multi-trait analyses results, it is necessary to briefly review again the meaning of the Revised Category Informativeness Instrument variables (Appendix I). The first component of the items (i.e., question A) pertained to the informational value of a character item. Questions B related to a

subject's willingness to approach the stimulus characters. Question C related to the subject's openness to being approached by the stimulus characters. Question D related to the subject's perception of their own similarity to the stimulus characters. The multi-trait multi-method analysis revealed that responses to Questions B, C, and D (i.e., informative valuation, likelihood of approaching, openness to approach, respectively) were highly interrelated, especially within the outgroup factor. Question A, which pertained to valuation of categorical information, did not appear to be related as significantly to any of the other three variables, regardless of the factor being analyzed.

The finding that there is less method variance in the newer variables (i.e., Questions B, C & D) than that of Question A further justifies the addition of these newer variables after the pilot study. Table 14 indicates that undesirable method variance is associated with Questions A. Such variance could bias the assessments made with regard to it. These data indicate that results regarding Questions B and C are based on valid assessments that are not distorted by method variance. Question or method D is even less influenced by method variance than any of the others, however. It will be discussed in the next section that Question D yields correlations that are similar in magnitude and significance to Questions B and C, and therefore do not have more predictive power. One advantage that Question D

does have over the others is that it yields both low and insignificant correlations with Social Desirability,  $r=.10$ ,  $p<.12$  (compared to  $r=.16$ ,  $p<.02$  and  $r=.14$ ,  $p<.03$ , respectively, for Questions B & C).

The question of whether valuation of categorical information (Question A type of inquiries) could be equated with prejudicial thought or behavior was posed during the pilot study. The present findings indicate that there is no relationship between valuation of categorical information and prejudice as defined by approachability with respect to ingroup members and outgroup members.

Further, this method suggests that Question D of the Revised Category Informativeness Questionnaire (how similar or different oneself is perceived with respect to the social stimuli presented) is related enough to Questions B and C (likelihood of approach and openness to approach) that it would be inappropriate to include Question D as a predictor variable of Ingroup and Outgroup Acceptance (Questions B & C) in later regression analyses involving Questions B and C. Although Question D will not tell us any more than Questions B and C, Question D results will be retained in the presentation of the correlational analyses because of its both low and also insignificant correlation with social desirability.

The high correlations that resulted between the Question D and Questions B and C items indicate another

important point. One of the theoretical questions of concern within this study was whether prejudice/nonprejudice behavior is associated with the tendency to categorize or think of others in terms of whether they are similar and/or different from us. Four strong correlations were found in Table 14 above that support this idea. The tendency to see oneself as similar to the ingroup members was positively and significantly associated with positive responses toward them operationalized as willingness to approach them or to be approached by them,  $r's=.54$  and  $.60$ ,  $p's<.01$ , respectively. Even stronger was the tendency to see oneself as similar to outgroup members and respond positively toward them,  $r's=.64$  and  $.65$ ,  $p's<.01$ , respectively. These particular results do indicate that our categorization of ourselves as similar rather than different relative to others is positively associated with acceptance of others. Again, the idea that the ability to relate to others in terms of our common human qualities may be more likely to lead to favorable interactions with them. While no causal statement can be made, the interrelatedness of these variables is noteworthy and is consistent with the theory that perceptions of category-based similarity/difference may be a key to the solution for the problem of prejudice.

To review and summarize the multi-trait, multi-method analyses with regard to the criterion variables, the results indicate that the most consistency in responses were

occurring within the factors and across the methods with Questions B and C (the two types of approach). Question A (category informational value) is yielding a different response that is not as consistent across factors and methods. The inconsistency of responses to question A might help explain why this type of question did not correlate frequently or consistently with the Self-Social Schema Orientation components that were presented in the pilot study. These findings also indicate that in studies of prejudice or nonprejudice, it matters a great deal what question is being asked as well as how it is being asked.

#### Reliability Analyses

In order to determine whether additional questions would provide additional criterion variable information, Cronbach alpha reliability measures were computed for the Questions B and C collapsed, and Questions B, C and D collapsed, responses on the ingroup (factor 1) and the outgroup (factor 2) items. The Questions B and C ingroup items produced a Cronbach alpha of .90. The Questions B and C outgroup items produced a Cronbach alpha of .89. The Questions B, C and D ingroup items produced a Cronbach alpha of .90, while the B, C and D outgroup items produced an alpha of .91. Because the reliability of measures B and C did not improve much with the presence of the Question D variable, responses to question D were not combined with

responses to B and C (which were treated as a combined criterion measure).

Thus, the Questions B and C variables (i.e., the two measures of approach) in their collapsed form on both the ingroup and outgroup factors were utilized as the primary criterion variable, and responses to Question D were treated as an individual variable. The ingroup category items or Ingroup Acceptance score consisted of the summated scores of eight items, i.e., the Male, Female, White-American, and 20 Years Old item responses for both Questions B and C (Appendices J & I). Likewise, the Outgroup Acceptance score consisted of the summated scores of eight items, i.e., the Homosexual, Mental Patient, AIDS Patient, and Just Released From Prison item responses for both Questions B and C (Appendix J & I).

#### Correlational Analyses

Therefore, the major criterion variables consisted of the two above described, summated factor scores for each subject which have been termed the Ingroup Acceptance score and the Outgroup Acceptance score. The correlation evidenced between the Ingroup and the Outgroup Acceptance scores was  $r=.50$ ,  $p<.01$  as displayed in Table 15 below.

A third criterion variable consisted of 'the subjects' written responses to the profile of a hypothetical character named "Lena". Lena was described as an outgoing, friendly 50 year old White female with "Proteus Syndrome" which is

also known as Elephant Man's disease. Subjects were asked to detail their thoughts and responses to Lena as she makes her way toward them to meet them during a party. The subjects' responses were divided into thirds and coded by one of three raters. The raters coded the responses on a 0-1 scale, 0 being for a negative response, and 1 for a neutral or positive response. The reason that the responses were not coded on a 3 point range that encompassed negative, neutral and positive responses, was because initial review of the responses by myself and the raters revealed that the neutral, ambiguous and positive responses overlapped and were difficult to distinguish from one another. As long as the response could not be considered negative, then it was coded as positive. Two examples of responses that were coded as negative are:

Why does she want to meet me. . . . I don't want to stare, but I can't help it. . . . I'm going to hate this. . . . I don't want to touch her;

If I saw her, first of all I would probably be afraid of her, and try to avoid her, because I feel nervous, and uncomfortable in strange situations. . . . If I saw her coming towards me (not being rude) but I could turn and go the opposite way, because if she became close enough to shake my hand my first thought would be that maybe I could get that disease from her, because I don't know that much about it.

Thirty percent (74/253) of the subject responses were coded as negative. Seventy percent (179/253) of the subject responses were coded as positive. Three examples of responses that were coded as positive are:

Is she coming my way, I wonder what is wrong with her. I will shake her hand and I will give her a smile back and if she wishes to talk I will talk to her and if not, I will still treat her as if she was or looked normal as I do.

Surprise, handicap, be nice.

A little uncomfortable at first I would try desperately not to make any facial expressions (shock) that might be offensive . . .

Like the previously discussed criterion variables Ingroup and Outgroup Acceptance, the Lena variable related well to portions of the Self-Social Schema Instrument and will be discussed in subsequent sections.

The criterion measures utilized in this study correlated with one another in the following manner as displayed in Table 15 below. Not surprisingly in light of our previous discussion, Outgroup Similarity correlated significantly with Outgroup Acceptance ( $r=.68, p<.01$ ) as well as with Ingroup Acceptance, but to a lesser degree ( $r=.27, p<.01$ ). Likewise, Ingroup Similarity correlated significantly with Ingroup Acceptance ( $r=.62, p<.01$ ) as well as with Outgroup Acceptance, but to a lesser degree ( $r=.16, p<.02$ ).

Also, it is interesting to note that responses regarding "Lena" correlated higher with Outgroup Similarity and Outgroup Acceptance ( $r's=.23$  and  $.24, p's<.01$ , respectively) than with Ingroup Similarity and Ingroup Acceptance ( $r's=-.07, p<.24$  and  $-.05, p<.40$ , respectively). Thus, for the subjects in this study, those that saw

themselves as similar to the outgroup and those who tended to be accepting of the outgroup also had a tendency to display more acceptance of "Lena". This finding regarding "Lena" was pretty much expected as the "Lena" character was an outgrowth of, and a combination of sorts, of some of the less socially desirable Categorical Informativeness items. The "Lena" task was constructed as a portrayal of a person that might typically be perceived as an outgroup member. These data indicate that indeed the hypothetical character "Lena" was perceived as an outgroup member.

Table 15: Criterion Variable Associations Amongst One Another

Variables	Outgroup Acceptance	Outgroup Similarity	Ingroup Acceptance	Ingroup Similarity	Profile of Lena
Outgroup Acceptance	1.00	.68**	.50**	.16*	.24**
Ingroup Acceptance	.50**	.27**	1.00	.62**	-.05
Outgroup Similarity	.68**	1.00	.27**	.29**	.23**
Ingroup Similarity	.16*	.29**	.62**	1.00	-.07
Profile of Lena	.24**	.23**	-.05	-.07	1.00

\*\*=Significant at the P<.01 level.

These results support minor hypothesis #4. This hypothesis was that the tendency to approach or welcome the

approach of the stimuli characters (i.e., acceptance of diversity) would be positively associated with perceptions of similarity to the stimulus characters. As the Table 15 above illustrates and as has just been discussed, significant correlations occurred between the acceptance and the similarity scores. However, because of the Multi-method Multi-trait results previously discussed, interpretation of these correlations must be done with extreme caution in that the intercorrelations may be partially due to similarities in the phrasing of the questions. Hypothesis #4 is more aptly supported by the low but significant correlation observed in Table 15 just above between responses to "Lena" and the Outgroup Similarity scores,  $r=.23$ ,  $p<.01$ . This correlation indicates that for the subjects that participated in the study, those who saw themselves as similar to the outgroup stimulus characters were more accepting of a person such as "Lena".

#### Predictor Variables

The predictor variables consisted of those cognitive style tendencies theoretically associated with ingroup-outgroup or "us and them" thinking. The final version of the main predictor variable was ascertained in the manner described in the following section.

Factor Analyses

Factor analyses of the item data for the 253 subjects on the Self Social Schema Instrument components were conducted (Appendices E & G, Table 16). The rationale for these particular factor analyses procedures was to possibly lend further support to "us and them" cognitive style theory by examining to what degree the proposed non-ingroup/outgroup components would share one factor. The first factor analysis in this regard was conducted to examine to what degree the "us and them" Self-Social Schema components plus the similar-difference component of the Category Informativeness Instrument (i.e., Question D) would share a factor(s). When these five theoretical ingroup-outgroup variables (Similarity Orientation, Inclusiveness, Marginality, Nonhierarchicalness, and Categorical Similar-Difference) were entered into a principal component factor analysis, one factor emerged. Each variable was highly loaded upon one, and only one, factor as shown in Table 16.

Table 16: Factor Loadings of Ingroup-Outgroup Variables

Variable	Factor Loadings
Similarity Orientation	.68
Inclusiveness	.64
Marginality	.60
Nonhierarchy	.46
Similar-Different Categorization	.39

Thus, further support was found for the idea of a non-ingroup/outgroup cognitive style tendency by all five of the major predictor variables being interrelated factorially. However, the Similarity-Difference Category Informativeness variable (Question D) was removed from the theoretical model because of its high multi-method, multi-trait association with other Category Informativeness Variables (as discussed above in the Criterion Variable section). Therefore, a second factor analysis was performed without the Similarity-Difference Category Informativeness variable included. Not surprisingly, the four remaining Self-Social Schema Orientation variables loaded on one factor as shown below in Table 17.

Table 17: Factor Loading Of Self-Social Schema Ingroup-Outgroup Variables Without the Similarity-Difference Category Informativeness Variable

Variable	Factor Loading
Similarity Orientation	.66
Inclusiveness	.67
Marginality	.64
Nonhierarchy	.49

In order to test for the existence of the ingroup-outgroup cognition factor when in the presence of all of the nine Self-Social Schema Instrument components, a factor analysis was conducted which included the subjects'

responses on each of the nine components. The ingroup-outgroup factor (Similarity Orientation, Inclusiveness, Marginality, Nonhierarchicalness) appeared to emerge within the second factor as shown in Table 18. It is noteworthy that Heterogeneity loaded highly on that second factor along with the other four that were expected. Thus, the Heterogeneity variable was included in subsequent analyses as one component of ingroup-outgroup social cognition.

Table 18: Factor Analyses of Self-Social Schema Responses

	Factor1	Factor2	Factor3
Similarity Orientation	.50	.34	.31
Inclusiveness	.29	.46	.43
Marginality	.26	.52	.21
Nonhierarchicalness	.29	.52	-.47
Openness A	.83	-.44	-.16
Openness B	.83	-.45	-.18
Heterogeneity	.35	.54	-.13
Othercenteredness	.10	.24	-.48
Cognitive Complexity	.29	-.22	.62
Variance Explained By Each Factor	42%	33%	25%

Subject responses on the diagrammatic Inclusiveness, Marginality, Nonhierarchicalness, and Heterogeneity components of the Self-Social Schema Instrument were collapsed and are referred to as the Ingroup-Outgroup

Cognition predictor variable. It was theoretically appropriate to collapse the subject responses on the four diagrammatic variables because of their high loadings on the second factor as shown in Table 18 above and because of their equal unit lengths or range. Because of the equal unit lengths, each of these five variables had a potential component response range from 0-16. It was practically appropriate to collapse these four variables to allow for a more simple or economical further analyses and presentation of the results.

In summary, the final version of the major predictor variables consisted of the Similarity Orientation variable and the Ingroup-Outgroup Cognition variable discussed above. The further significance of the analyses conducted and referred to regarding the predictor variables is that it demonstrates that the ingroup-outgroup cognitive tendency that was thought to exist theoretically also has empirical evidence. Whether this tendency is significantly related to category-based prejudicial behavior will be addressed in the subsequent section.

#### Correlational Analyses

As a routine procedure, correlation analyses were conducted to ascertain the associations that resulted between the Self-Social Schema components and the conventional personality instruments that were included in the data collection packet, i.e., the Acceptance of Others

Scale (Appendix M; Fey, 1955; Wrightsman, 1991), the Modern Racism Scale (Appendix O; McConahay, 1986), the ProBlack scale (Appendix N; Katz & Hass, 1992), and the Social Desirability Scale (Appendix L; Crowne & Marlowe, 1960). Referring to Table 19 below, one observation that can be made is that of the predictor variables that are of particular interest in this study (i.e., Similarity Orientation, Inclusiveness, Marginality, Nonhierarchicalness, and Heterogeneity), none correlated significantly with Social Desirability. This suggests that subjects' responses to the diminished ingroup-outgroup cognitive tendency variables are not a matter of desire to present oneself favorably. As previously discussed in the review of the literature, traditional measures of prejudice such as the Authoritarian Scale and the Modern Racism Scale have been problematic in terms of their being associated with high scores on the Social Desirability Scale. In the current study for example, Modern Racism showed an  $r=-.16$ ,  $p<.01$  low but significant correlation with Social Desirability, (the ProBlack Scale however did not show a correlation,  $r=.02$ ,  $p<.75$ ). To reiterate a most important point, the Self-Social Schema components (excepting for a correlation that occurred regarding cognitive complexity which is not a focus in the current study) showed no correlations with social desirability which is in line with the expectation that they are less reactive measures. In

terms of the negative and significant correlation between Cognitive Complexity (self-adjective checklist) and Social Desirability, it appears that the more varied the self-conceptions of the subjects that participated in the study, the less concerned with their presentation to others they were likely to be.

Still referring to Table 19 below, some low but significant correlations were found which relate to minor Hypothesis #5. Hypothesis #5 stated that high levels of the Non-ingroup/outgroup tendency (i.e., similarity orientation, inclusiveness, etc.) would be negatively associated with Modern Racism. Similarity Orientation and Heterogeneity correlated negatively and significantly with Modern Racism indicating that the more similarity oriented or heterogeneity oriented the subjects were, the less racist against African Americans they were likely to be ( $r's = -.16$  and  $-.16$ ,  $p's < .05$ , respectively). Heterogeneity correlated positively and significantly with the ProBlack scale indicating that more heterogeneity oriented subjects were, the more positively they viewed African Americans,  $r = .13$ ,  $p < .05$ .

Consequently, referring to the same table, the lack of significant correlations between the general Acceptance of Others Scale and the Self-Social Schema variables, lend little support to minor Hypothesis #6. Hypothesis #6 stated that high levels of the Non-Ingroup/Outgroup tendency (e.g.,

similarity orientation, inclusiveness, nonhierarchicalness, etc.) would be positively associated with acceptance of others. Nonhierarchicalness produced a low but positive and significant correlation with general Acceptance of Others (Fey, 1955),  $r=.16$ ,  $p<.05$ , indicating that for these subjects, the greater the tendency to view others in terms of status rather than equitable configurations, the less likely the tendency to view other generalized-other humans favorably. None of the other universal orientation related components correlated with general Acceptance of Others,

Table 19: Correlational Associations of the Self-Social Schema Orientation Components and the Personality Instruments

Schema Variables	Modern Racism	Pro-Black	Acceptance	Social Desir.
Similarity Orientation	-.16*	.06	.00	-.05
Non-In/Outgroup Cognition	-.10	.05	.03	.05
Inclusiveness	-.04	.09	-.12	-.02
Marginality	-.03	.01	-.08	-.03
Nonhierarchicalness	-.05	-.03	.16*	.04
Heterogeneity	-.16*	.13*	.07	.08
Openness A	-.03	-.06	.11	-.03
Openness B	-.10	.03	.10	-.02
Othercenteredness	-.03	.03	-.03	-.02
Cognitive Complexity	-.11	.07	-.03	-.13*

\*=Significant at the  $P<.05$  level.

therefore, little support exists for this sixth hypothesis. The correlations described in this section related to two of the minor hypotheses which were the fifth and sixth of all of the hypotheses. Hypothesis #5 in comparison with #6 was provided more support. The significant correlations depicted here appear relatively low in the sense that they are lower than .20 percent. However, significant correlations of this level are not unusual in studies involving traditional verbal personality measures (Kassarjian & Sheffet, 1971; Kraus, 1991). Because so many other factors (e.g., situational influences) can influence responses on personality measures, even the lower yet significant correlations may be noteworthy.

#### Relating the Criterion and Predictor Variables

The relationship between the predictor and the criterion variables were ascertained by various statistical methods for the purpose of testing specific hypotheses related to whether diminished ingroup-outgroup or "us and them" cognitive tendencies related to acceptance or rejection of diverse others in a prejudicial sense.

#### Correlational Analyses

The first statistical procedure that was utilized consisted of correlational analyses of the criterion and predictor variables discussed above. The criterion

variables were however first analyzed for associations with subject demographic variables.

Two hypotheses had been set forth regarding demographic variables. One was a minor hypothesis, Hypothesis #7. It stated that the female subjects would show a greater tendency to perceive similarity with the stimulus characters and greater acceptance of diversity scores than would their male counterparts. The other hypothesis, Hypothesis #8, stated that the ethnic minorities would tend to produce higher perception of similarity scores and acceptance of diversity scores than their majority counterparts.

#### Outgroup acceptance-demographic associations

As Table 20 shows, the Outgroup Acceptance scores correlated significantly and positively with age ( $r=.33$ ,  $p<.01$ ), education ( $r=.15$ ,  $p<.03$ ), marital status ( $r=.17$ ,  $p<.01$ ), total number of siblings ( $r=.16$ ,  $p<.02$ ), number of deaths experienced ( $r=.18$ ,  $p<.01$ ), and being handicapped ( $r=.15$ ,  $p<.03$ ). Accepting for age, these correlations were significant, yet relatively low. However, they may suggest that the older, more educated, and more life experienced the subjects (in terms of marriage, family size, deaths experienced or being handicapped), the more accepting of outgroup members they were likely to be. Because no correlations occurred between the outgroup acceptance variable and gender or ethnicity, neither Hypotheses #7 nor #8 were supported with regard to this variable.

Table 20: Criterion Variable and Demographic Associations

Variables	N	Outgroup Accept- ance	Outgroup Simi- larity	Ingroup Accept- ance	Ingroup Simi- larity	Profile of Lena
Gender	249	.00	-.09	-.19**	-.08	.15*
Age	233	.33**	.19**	-.03	-.22**	.16*
Education	243	.15*	.15*	.08	.00	.00
Marital Stat.	249	.17**	.05	-.03	-.13*	.09
Total Sibs.	247	.16*	.11	.00	-.07	.04
Deaths	249	.18**	.06	-.01	-.12	.12
Handicapped	248	.15*	.13*	.06	-.12	.11
Family Income	157	-.02	.04	.21**	.24**	-.06
Own Income	180	.15	-.03	-.02	-.12	.03
Politic	213	.00	-.03	-.14*	-.27**	.01
No. of Moves	246	.09	.10	.11	-.13*	-.01
Occupation	244	.10	.01	-.10	-.18**	.18**
Employment	246	.09	.02	-.07	-.16*	.14*
Religion	242	-.12	-.15*	.01	.03	.05
Relig. Devote	210	-.04	-.06	-.02	-.05	-.02
Birth Order	231	.04	.00	.00	-.04	-.01
Only Child	239	.02	-.00	.05	.09	.00
Hndcppd Friend	245	.04	-.00	.06	-.06	.09
Foreigner	250	-.09	.00	-.01	.08	.02
Ethnicity	251	.01	-.03	.04	.01	-.01
Biraciality	250	.05	.01	.11	.07	-.01
Divers. Course	253	-.01	-.06	.02	-.01	.03

\*=Significant at the P&lt;.05 level.

\*\*=Significant at the P&lt;.01 level.

Outgroup similarity-demographic associations

Referring again to Table 20, the Outgroup Similarity correlations were comparable to the Outgroup Acceptance scores just discussed. Positive and significant correlations were found between Outgroup Similarity and age, education and having a handicap ( $r's=.19, .15, .13$ , respectively,  $p's< .01, .05$  and  $.05$  respectively). Significant correlations were not found between this variable and marital status, number of siblings, number of losses by death experienced, however, Outgroup Similarity did correlate negatively and significantly with having a religious affiliation,  $r=-.15$ ,  $p<.05$ ). This correlation with religious affiliation indicates that those subjects that are members of a religion are less likely to see themselves as similar to outgroup members. It is interesting to note that while religious affiliation correlates negatively with Outgroup Acceptance, religious devotion (i.e., ones perceived level of devotion to their religion) shows no significant correlation with perception of similarity to outgroup members. Because no correlations occurred between the outgroup similarity variable and gender or ethnicity, neither Hypotheses #7 nor #8 were supported with regard to this variable.

Ingroup acceptance-demographic associations

Table 20 above also illustrates that the Ingroup Acceptance scores correlated significantly with gender,

family income, and political affiliation. Rather than being significantly accepting of outgroup members, the following correlations suggest that males ( $r=-.19$ ,  $p<.01$ ), the wealthy ( $r=.21$ ,  $p<.01$ ), and the politically independent ( $r=-.14$ ,  $p<.05$ ) were more accepting of ingroup members depicted in the Category Informativeness Instrument more so than were their counterparts as measured by the Category Informativeness Instrument. Although a low, significant correlation was found regarding ingroup acceptance and the gender variable, it does not lend support to Hypothesis #7 which stated that women would be more accepting of diversity. First of all, the correlation that was produced was in the direction opposite of that proposed. Secondly, the Ingroup Acceptance and Ingroup Similarity variables may not be acceptance of diversity variables in the same sense, degree, and intensity as are the outgroup acceptance and outgroup similarity variables. Therefore, they may not be appropriate for relating to this hypothesis. Likewise, no support far was shown for the eighth hypothesis because no correlations were shown for the Ingroup Acceptance or the Similarity variables with the ethnicity variable.

#### Ingroup similarity-demographic associations

Referring once more to Table 20, data analyses of the Ingroup Similarity variable also produced significant correlations with family income and political independence, indicating likewise that the wealthy subjects saw themselves

as more similar to the ingroup characters of the Category Informativeness Instrument, while the less politically conventional subjects saw themselves as less similar to the ingroup characters depicted ( $r=.24$ ,  $p<.01$  and  $r=-.27$ , respectively). Correlational analyses of the Ingroup Similarity variable also produced significant outcomes with the demographic variables of age ( $r=-.22$ ,  $p<.01$ ), marital status ( $r=-.13$ ,  $p<.05$ ), number of moves ( $r= -.13$ ,  $p<.05$ ), occupation ( $r=-.18$ ,  $p<.01$ ), and employment ( $r=-.16$ ,  $p<.01$ ). These findings suggest that the older the subjects were that participated in this study, the less likely they were to see themselves as similar to the outgroup characters presented. The married and divorced subjects, as opposed to the single ones, had a greater tendency to view themselves as different from the ingroup characters depicted. This tendency also occurred for those who had more frequently moved and were working (i.e., were not "students" only). Again, life experience may be an important issue in terms of how these subjects viewed the stimulus characters presented in the Category Informativeness Instrument. Those subjects with the most life experience appear to identify more with outgroup membership and less with ingroup membership. As we grow older and take on more responsibility, we become more experienced and are exposed to a greater variety of people through work and career, etc. With these age and maturity related changes, we may be more inclined to experience

cognitively and socially meaningful interactions with others, and therefore, the more tolerant or accepting of them we may become. Stephan (1985), Stephan and Stephan (1985) and Stephan and Brigham (1985) have offered much discussion of the importance of familiarity and meaningful interactions and experience with outgroup members as a facilitator of acceptance of diversity. Therefore, it is not surprising that those demographic characteristics that might represent maturity and life experience showed associations with acceptance and perceptions of similarity.

#### "Lena"-demographic associations

When acceptance of diverse others was measured by responses to the profile of a diverse other such as "Lena", the findings were a bit different. In this case, female gender status was significantly and positively associated with acceptance of "Lena",  $r=.15$ ,  $p<.03$ , as indicated in Table 20. This particular finding lends support to the seventh hypothesis that posited that female subjects would tend to show a greater acceptance of diverse others.

Similar to one of the results that was found regarding the Outgroup Acceptance variable, the Lena profile variable correlated positively and significantly with age,  $r=.16$ ,  $p<.02$ , indicating that as age increased, the likelihood of a positive response to Lena also increased. Having an occupation other than being a student and being employed full-time correlated positively and significantly with the

Lena profile variable as well,  $r=.18$ ,  $p<.01$  and  $r=.14$ ,  $p<.04$ , respectively, indicating that the greater livelihood responsibility a subject possessed, the more accepting of Lena s/he was likely to be.

The low incidence and/or low levels of correlations between the criterion measures and the gender and ethnic variables do not lend much support to the minor hypotheses, Hypothesis #7 and Hypothesis #8. As has been previously noted, and demonstrated in Table 9, the gender and ethnic ratios were imbalanced and may have been inconducive to statistical detection of significant association.

#### Criterion-predictor variables associations: initial testing of the first major hypothesis

The primary hypothesis that was proposed in this study was that high levels of the Non-In/Outgroup Cognition tendency and high levels of Similarity Orientation would be positively associated with acceptance of diverse categories of people as measured by the Category Informativeness Instrument. Therefore, correlations were computed to ascertain the association between the Outgroup Acceptance, Outgroup Similarity, Ingroup Acceptance and Ingroup Similarity scores with the Self-Social Schema Similarity Orientation and Non-In/Outgroup Cognitive Style scores. As Table 21 below shows, Self-Social Schema's Similarity Orientation correlated significantly with all five of the criterion measures, Outgroup Acceptance ( $r=.22$ ,  $p<.01$ ), Outgroup Similarity ( $r=.20$ ,  $p<.01$ ), Ingroup Acceptance

( $r=.18$ ,  $p<.01$ ), Ingroup Similarity ( $r=.14$ ,  $p<.04$ ), and response to Lena ( $r=.13$ ,  $p<.04$ ). Referring again to Table 21 below, the Self-Social Schema's Non-In/Outgroup Cognition variable which was a combination of Inclusiveness, Marginality, Nonhierarchicalness and Heterogeneity, correlated significantly with the Category Informativeness Instrument's Outgroup Acceptance ( $r=.26$ ,  $p<.01$ ) and Outgroup Similarity ( $r=.18$ ,  $p<.01$ ).

Table 21: Predictor and Criterion Variables Associations

Cognitive Style Variables	Outgroup Accept- ance	Outgroup Simi- larity	Ingroup Accept- ance	Ingroup Simi- larity	Profile of Lena
Similarity Orientation	.22**	.20**	.18**	.14*	.13*
Non-In/Outgroup Cognition	.26**	.18**	.07	-.08	.11

\*=Significant at the  $P<.05$  level.

\*\*=Significant at the  $P<.01$  level.

The implications that can be made based on the findings displayed in the above table previously discussed will be summarized and their support of the hypothesis proposed will be stated: 1) Self-Social Schematic Similarity Orientation is significantly associated with all of the criterion measures that were utilized in this study. This suggests that the subjects who participated in this study who cognitively orient to others more in terms of similarities more so than differences also tended to be more accepting of

outgroup members and ingroup members, tend to see themselves as being more similar to as opposed to different from both ingroup and outgroup members, including the specific outgroup member, "Lena"; 2) Self-Social Schematic Non-In/Outgroup Cognition is significantly associated with the Outgroup Acceptance and Outgroup Similarity components of the Category Informativeness variables. This finding indicates that the subjects who participated in this study who had greater tendencies to fail to cognitively orient in terms of ingroup and outgroup membership (e.g., who were Inclusive rather than exclusive in their orientation toward others and/or who were Nonhierarchical rather than hierarchical in their orientation) tended to be more accepting of the outgroup members depicted in the Category Informativeness Instrument and also tended to see themselves as being more similar to rather than different from the outgroup members depicted; 3) It is also important to point out based on this table above that the Similarity Orientation cognitive style variable produced more consistent results across the Category Informativeness and Lena components in terms of producing significant levels of association. The Outgroup components of the Category Informativeness Instrument (i.e., Outgroup Acceptance and Outgroup Similarity) produced more consistent results across the Self-Social Schema components than did the Ingroup components. And as discussed earlier, the Category

Informativeness variable that concerned whether subjects saw themselves as similar or different from the characters (Item D, Appendix I), may be a more trusted measure than the other items (such as items A, B, & C of Appendix I), primarily because it does not correlate with Social Desirability.

This particular observation will be further addressed in the forthcoming section; 4) These results, when taken together, support the first hypothesis that was set forth in this study. The major hypothesis proposed was that high levels of the Non-In/Outgroup tendency and Similarity Orientation would be positively associated with acceptance of diverse categories of people as measured by the Category Informativeness Instrument. As the table above illustrates, and as has been discussed, this is primarily what occurred in the results. Although the significant correlations are not extremely high, they are supportive of the hypothesis.

Criterion-personality associations: initial testing of the second major hypothesis

As the following table (Table 22) displays, correlational analyses were also conducted upon the criterion variables to test for associations with general Modern Racism (McConahay, 1986), ProBlack (Katz & Hass, 1992), Acceptance of Others (Fey, 1955; Wrightsman, 1991), and Social Desirability (Crowne & Marlowe, 1960). The second hypothesis of this study proposed that the Self-Social Schema Instrument components would yield better associations with acceptance of diverse others as measured

by the Category Informativeness Instrument than would traditional measures of prejudice such as the Modern Racism Scale.

As Table 22 below demonstrates, the Self-Social Schema Instrument components certainly produced more consistent results across the Category Informativeness variables than did the traditional measures of prejudice. The ability of the Self-Social Schema components to produce consistent associations with the criterion measures was first discussed in the previous section. As discussed in that section, the Self-Social Schematic Similarity Orientation correlated with each of the five criterion variables, and the Self-Social Schematic Non-In/Outgroup Cognition variable correlated with both of the Category Informativeness Outgroup variables (i.e., Outgroup Acceptance and Outgroup Similarity). Unlike the Non-In/Outgroup Cognition and Similarity Orientation variables, the traditional measures of prejudice were not very consistent in their result patterns. Modern Racism showed only one significant correlation with Outgroup Acceptance indicating that acceptance of stigmatized others is negatively associated with degree of racism as measured by the Modern Racism Scale,  $r=-.13$ ,  $p<.04$ . As can also be seen in the same table, the ProBlack Scale did not produce any significant correlations with any of the five the criterion measures. The Acceptance of Others Scale produced significant, though not high, correlations with Ingroup

Acceptance and responses to "Lena". These particular correlations indicate that as acceptance of ingroup members increased for these subjects, general acceptance of others as measured by the Acceptance of Others Scale decreased,  $r=-.13$ ,  $p<.05$ . As acceptance of "Lena" increased, general Acceptance of Others also increased,  $r=.15$ ,  $p<.02$ , indicating that those that have a general acceptance of others are more likely to be accepting of someone like "Lena".

The only significant correlation that occurred with Social Desirability involved the Outgroup Acceptance variable,  $r=.16$ ,  $p<.02$ . Similar correlations did not occur involving Ingroup Acceptance, nor involving perceived similarity to ingroup and outgroup members. Obviously, therefore, the expression of one's acceptance of, or anticipated behavior toward, stigmatized others is more susceptible to social desirability concerns than one's expression toward those who are not considered different in our society. One's perceived similarity to others, be they ingroup members or outgroup members, also does not appear to have been as susceptible to social desirability concerns for the group of subjects that participated in this study.

When these results are taken together, it appears that the hypothesis that the Self-Social Schema Orientation variables would be better associated with the criterion

Table 22: Correlations Related to the Second Hypothesis

Personality Variables	Outgroup Accept- ance	Outgroup Simi- larity	Ingroup Accept- ance	Ingroup Simi- larity	Profile of Lena
Modern Racism Scale	-.13*	-.09	.05	.08	-.08
ProBlack Scale	.09	.08	.05	.04	.03
Acceptance of Others Scale	.05	.06	-.13*	-.11	.15*
Social Desirability Scale	.16*	.10	.07	-.07	.07
Similarity Orientation	.22**	.20**	.18**	.14*	.13*
Non-In/Outgroup Cognition	.26**	.18**	.07	-.08	.11

\*=Significant at the  $P < .05$  level.

\*\*=Significant at the  $P < .01$  level.

measures is well supported as they were more consistently associated with them than were the traditional prejudice measures. This hypothesis will be further tested by regression analyses in a subsequent section.

#### Other associations

Correlations were also conducted involving the Self-Social Schema components that were not included as a major criterion variable. These variables were not included in the preceding analyses because they were not theoretically related to the Non-In/Outgroup cognitive social evaluation tendency and also were not empirically supported as a diminished ingroup-outgroup tendency variable (as discussed

in the Predictor Variable section above). These variables consisted of Openness A, Openness B, Other-centeredness, and Cognitive Complexity. To quickly review, responses to the Openness A (Appendix G) items involved subjects drawing lines to small circles which represent the making of connections amongst themselves and others. As shown in Table 23, the correlational analyses revealed that amongst these variables, the "Openness A" variable was the most productive. Three significant associations were found wherein Outgroup Acceptance, Outgroup Similarity and responses to the "Lena" profile showed relatively low but significant correlations with the diagrammatic Openness A,  $r=.15$ ,  $p<.02$ ,  $r=.15$ ,  $p<.02$ , and  $r=.12$ ,  $p<.05$ , respectively. The first association indicates that for the subjects who participated in this study, as the numbers of connections that they diagrammatically placed with respect to significant others increased, acceptance of sociologically stigmatized others also increased. The second association indicates that for these subjects, the greater the number of their diagrammatic connections, the more similar to diverse others they were likely to see themselves. The final correlation indicated that as schematic connections to others, or openness, increased, positive responses to individuals as different as Lena are likely to also increase. Given these results, perhaps in future studies, openness should be reconsidered as a possible component of

ingroup/outgroup cognition. However, it should at this point also be kept in mind that the earlier factor analysis results involving the Self-Social Schematic diagrammatic items did not reveal Openness A to fall within the same factor as the Non-In/Outgroup Cognition components.

Table 23: Criterion Variable Associations With Other Self-Social Schema Instrument Components

Other Cognitive Style Variables	Outgroup Acceptance	Outgroup Similarity	Ingroup Acceptance	Ingroup Similarity	Profile of Lena
Openness A	.15*	.15*	.10	.10	.12*
Openness B	.09	.10	.03	.05	.11
Other-Centeredness	.09	.11	.02	-.05	-.01
Cognitive Complexity	-.07	-.06	-.07	-.04	-.03

\*=Significant at the  $P < .05$  level.

To recall, the purpose of Study 2 was to examine the usefulness of the diminished ingroup-outgroup cognitive tendency variables as a subset of the Self-Social Schema Orientation Instrument as predictors of nonprejudice behavior. For Study 2, it was felt that it was important to examine a form of prejudiced/nonprejudiced behavior rather than mere valuation of categorical information. For the purpose of this study, nonprejudice behavior was operationalized as acceptance of diverse strangers as

measured by two components of the Revised Categorical Informativeness Instrument.

When comparing the Table 23 above with Table 21 presented earlier it seems clear that the variables that were theoretically assumed to be associated with diminished ingroup-outgroup social evaluation (i.e., Similarity Orientation, Inclusiveness, Marginality, Nonhierarchicalness and post hoc, Heterogeneity) certainly produced more and stronger significant correlations with the criterion variables (Table 21) than did the other Self-Social Schema variables above (Table 23) that, for the most part, were not theoretically nor empirically associated with a diminished ingroup-outgroup perception tendency. This lends support to the hypothesis that the diminished ingroup-outgroup perception tendency may be the key to prejudicial behavior and intergroup acceptance. In particular, these results support the construct validity of the Non-In/Outgroup cognitive tendency portion of the Self-Social Schema Orientation instrument as a measure of nonprejudicial behavior which has been defined as acceptance of a diversity of others.

#### Regression Analyses

In order to further test the value of diminished ingroup-outgroup perception tendency as a predictor of prejudicial behavior and intergroup acceptance, regression analyses were conducted involving these variables.

Preliminary regression analyses concerning the demographic and criterion variables

As a routine procedure that is customarily performed in research involving predictor variables, the influence of demographic as opposed to interpersonal characteristics was first ascertained. This procedure was conducted upon the criterion variables of Outgroup Acceptance, Outgroup Similarity, Ingroup Acceptance, Ingroup Similarity, and responses to "Lena". After the performing of this procedure, it would then be appropriate to utilization the regression analysis procedures for the purpose of conducting further testing of the two major hypotheses of this study.

The following concerns the routine regression analyses of the criterion measure, Outgroup Acceptance, with particular demographic variables entered as the predictors. The demographic variables that produced correlational outcomes with respect to one or more of the acceptance of diversity criterion measures were selected and entered into a multiple regression model for analyses. As Table 20 previously displayed, the demographic variables that produced significant correlations with one or more of the two acceptance of diversity criterion variables were age, marital status, education, gender, family income, losses experienced by death, total number of siblings, and being handicapped. The following particular analyses involving the demographic variables were conducted. The demographic variables of age, marital status, education, and gender were

entered into an abbreviated model as possible predictors of Outgroup Acceptance. An extended model was also tested that included not only age, marital status, education and gender, but also the other three variables just mentioned, number of losses by death experienced, total number of siblings, and being handicapped as possible predictors of Outgroup Acceptance. In terms of the Outgroup Acceptance criterion variable, both the reduced and the extended models tested showed age to be the only demographic variable that was a significant predictor of acceptance of outgroup members as shown in Table 24 and Table 25.

Table 24: Summary of the Reduced Model Multiple Regression Analysis of Demographic Variables as Predictors of Outgroup Acceptance

Source	SS	MS	df	R <sup>2</sup>	Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	F	p-value
Model	2703	676	4	.12	.10	7.148	.0001
Error	20704	95	219				
Predictor Variables			Regression Coefficients		t	p-value	
Age				.45	3.96		.0001
Marital Status				.42	.48		.6330
Education				.48	.97		.3323
Gender				-.86	-.61		.5454

Table 25: Summary of the Extended Model Multiple Regression Analysis of Demographic Variables as Predictors of Outgroup Acceptance

Source	SS	MS	df	R <sup>2</sup>	Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	F	p-value
Model	2832	405	7	.12	.10	4.378	.0001
Error	19686	92	213				
<hr/>							
Predictor Variables			Regression Coefficients		t	p-value	
Age			.35		2.84	.0049	
Marital Status			.26		.29	.7705	
Education			.57		1.16	.2468	
Gender			-.59		-.41	.6811	
Deaths Experienced			.64		.90	.3675	
No. of Siblings			.31		1.10	.2732	
Being Handicapped			4.79		1.63	.1056	

The following (Tables 26 and 27) concerns the routine regression analyses of the criterion measure, Outgroup Similarity, with particular demographic variables entered as the predictors. The same regression analyses procedures were followed for this variable that was described above for the Outgroup Acceptance variable. The demographic variables of age, education, marital status and gender were entered into the abbreviated regression model, the same as described above, but as possible predictors of Outgroup Similarity. An extended model was also tested that included not only

Table 26: Summary of the Reduced Model Multiple Regression Analysis of Demographic Variables as Predictors of Outgroup Similarity

Source	SS	MS	df	R <sup>2</sup>	Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	F	p-value
Model	278	70	4	.06	.05	3.723	.0059
Error	4089	19	219				
<hr/>							
Predictor Variables		Regression Coefficients		<i>t</i>		p-value	
<hr/>							
Age		.12		2.44		.0155	
Education		.36		1.64		.1034	
Marital Status		-.14		-.36		.7229	
Gender		-1.19		-1.88		.0619	
<hr/>							

age, education, marital status and gender, but also three other variables that produced significant correlations with this variable. These additional variables concerned being religiously affiliated and having a handicap and were entered as possible predictors of Outgroup Similarity in the extended model for this variable. Like the Outgroup Acceptance variable, the regression results for the Outgroup Similarity variable reduced model showed age to be the only demographic variable with significant predictive ability. The extended model for this variable however showed both age and religious affiliation to be significant predictors of

Table 27: Summary of the Extended Model Multiple Regression Analysis of Demographic Variables as Predictors of Outgroup Similarity

Source	SS	MS	df	Adjusted		F	p-value
				R <sup>2</sup>	R <sup>2</sup>		
Model	364	61	6	.09	.06	3.360	.0035
Error	3812	18	211				
Predictor Variables			Regression Coefficients		t	p-value	
Age				.10	2.07		.0390
Education				.37	1.67		.0968
Marital Status				-.16	-.40		.6904
Gender				-.90	-1.41		.1600
Religious Affiliation				-1.37	-1.97		.0499
Being Handicapped				2.04	1.55		.1222

perceived similarity to outgroup members. The results are shown above in Table 26 and Table 27.

The same procedure was followed for the Ingroup Acceptance Variable in order to first ascertain the influence of demographic as opposed to interpersonal characteristics upon this criterion variable. In a reduced or abbreviated model, the demographic variables of gender, education, age and marital status were entered as possible predictors of Ingroup Acceptance. An extended model was also tested that also included family income, being handicapped and total number of losses by death experienced

as possible predictors of this variable. For the Ingroup Acceptance criterion variable, the reduced model, but not the extended model, produced significant results as shown in Table 28 and Table 29. In this case, the reduced model tested showed gender to be a predictor of acceptance of ingroup members, while the extended model produced no significant predictors.

Table 28: Summary of the Reduced Model Multiple Regression Analysis of Demographic Variables as Predictors of Ingroup Acceptance

Source	SS	MS	df	R <sup>2</sup>	Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	F	p-value
Model	938	234	4	.04	.03	2.439	.0480
Error	21048	96	219				
Predictor Variables		Regression Coefficients			t	p-value	
Gender				-4.14	-2.88		.0043
Education				.54	1.09		.2750
Age				-.03	-.30		.7653
Marital Status				.25	.28		.7824

The same statistical procedures were followed for the Ingroup Similarity variable (Tables 30 and 31) in order to first ascertain the influence of demographic as opposed to interpersonal characteristics upon this criterion variable. In a reduced or abbreviated model, the demographic variables of age, marital status, education and gender were entered as

possible predictors of Ingroup Similarity. An extended model was also tested that also included political affiliation, family income, having an occupation other than being a student, degree of employment, and number of household moves as possible predictors of this variable. To

Table 29: Summary of the Extended Model Multiple Regression Analysis of Demographic Variables as Predictors of Ingroup Acceptance

Source	SS	MS	df	R <sup>2</sup>	Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	F	p-value
Model	571	82	7	.04	-.01	.898	.5098
Error	12532	91	138				
Predictor Variables		Regression Coefficients			t	p-value	
Gender				-2.37	-1.29		.2004
Education				-.36	-.55		.5860
Age				.03	.19		.8467
Marital Status				-.54	.50		.6205
Family Income				.04	1.39		.1670
Being Handicapped				-3.15	-.84		.4019
Deaths Experienced				-.16	-.19		.8481

distinguish between the occupation and employment variable: occupation involved whether the subject had an occupation other than that of student (0=no, 1=yes), while employment involved the capacity or degree of one's employment (0=not employed, 1=part-time, 2=full-time). For the Ingroup

Similarity criterion variable, both the reduced and the extended models produced significant results as shown in Table 30 and Table 31. In this case, the reduced model tested showed age to be a predictor of Ingroup Similarity, while the extended model showed both age and political affiliation to be predictors of perceived similarity to ingroup members.

Table 30: Summary of the Reduced Model Multiple Regression Analysis of Demographic Variables as Predictors of Ingroup Similarity

Source	SS	MS	df	R <sup>2</sup>	Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	F	p-value
Model	181	45	4	.05	.03	2.643	.0346
Error	3755	17	219				
Predictor Variables		Regression Coefficients			t	p-value	
Age				-.13	-2.73		.0068
Marital Status				.06	.15		.8799
Education				.14	.65		.5193
Gender				-.46	-.75		.4529

In order to ascertain the influence of demographic as opposed to interpersonal characteristics upon the criterion variable concerning "Lena", the demographic variables that produced correlational outcomes with respect to this criterion measure were entered into multiple regression models for analyses (Table 32). As Table 20 displayed

Table 31: Summary of the Extended Model Multiple Regression Analysis of Demographic Variables as Predictors of Ingroup Similarity

Source	SS	MS	df	R <sup>2</sup>	Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	F	p-value
Model	487	54	9	.23	.17	3.978	.0002
Error	1674	14	123				
Predictor Variables		Regression Coefficients		t		p-value	
Age				-.12	-2.02		.0454
Marital Status				.42	.95		.3462
Gender				-.73	-.98		.3302
Education				-.15	-.54		.5930
Political Affiliation				-1.85	-4.30		.0001
Family Income				.01	.43		.6682
Occupation				-.29	-.30		.7651
Employment				-.63	-1.05		.2957
Number of Moves				.09	.97		.3353

earlier, the demographic variables that produced significant correlations with the "Lena" variables were gender, age, occupation and employment. To distinguish again between the occupation and employment variable: occupation involved whether the subject had an occupation other than that of student (0=no, 1=yes), while employment involved the capacity or degree of one's employment (0=not employed, 1=part-time, 2=full-time). As discussed concerning the

other criterion measures, the following particular analyses involving the demographic variables were conducted as a routine procedure that is customarily performed in research involving predictor variables. The demographic variables of occupation, age, gender and employment were entered into a model as possible predictors of acceptance of "Lena". These analyses showed both occupation and gender to be the demographic variables that were significant predictors of acceptance of "Lena" as shown in Table 32 below.

Table 32: Summary of the Multiple Regression Analysis of Demographic Variables as Predictors of Acceptance of "Lena"

Source	SS	MS	df	Adjusted		F	p-value
				R <sup>2</sup>	R <sup>2</sup>		
Model	3.42	.86	4	.07	.06	4.304	.0023
Error	43.54	.20	219				
Predictor Variables			Regression Coefficients		t	p-value	
Occupation				.21	2.40		.0173
Age				.01	1.37		.1718
Gender				.16	2.41		.0167
Employment				-.04	-.68		.4987

Final testing of the major hypotheses

First, a review of the two major hypotheses proposed in this study will be briefly presented. The first hypothesis was that high levels of the diagrammatically derived Non-

In/Outgroup Cognition tendency and the Self-Social Schema Similarity Orientation would be positively associated with acceptance of diverse categories of people. The second hypothesis was that these measures, especially the less verbal, diagrammatic variables (i.e., the Non-In/Outgroup Cognition tendency), would serve as better predictors of acceptance of diverse others than traditional measures such as the Modern Racism Scale.

In order to ascertain the predictive ability of the Self-Social Schema variables (i.e., Similarity Orientation and Non-In/Outgroup Orientation cognitive tendency), including its predictive ability relative to traditional measures of prejudice, Forward Selection Procedure multiple regression analyses were conducted. Given the results just discussed regarding the impact of the demographic variables, standard statistical analyses protocol called for age, gender and social desirability measures to be entered first into the prediction models. Then entered were the Self-Social Schema measures (i.e., Similarity Orientation and Non-In\Outgroup Orientation cognitive tendency) and finally the more traditional measure of prejudice such as the Modern Racism Scale as predictors of Outgroup Acceptance, Outgroup Similarity, Ingroup Acceptance, Ingroup Similarity, and responses to "Lena". Therefore, to review, the hypothesized model consisted of: Age, Gender, and Social Desirability, as standard statistical analyses protocol variables; plus

the Nonverbal Self-Social Schema variables relating to Non-In/Outgroup Orientation cognitive tendency; plus the verbal Self-Social Schema variable (i.e., Similarity Orientation); plus the traditional measures of prejudice which include Acceptance of Others, ProBlack, and Modern Racism. The traditional measures of prejudice were entered lastly, especially Modern Racism because it is the least general and most emotionally charged measure which in the past has been thought to account for its relatively low predictive power in studies of prejudice. Each of the mentioned variables were entered into multiple regression models as predictors of the five criterion measures.

Concerning the Outgroup Acceptance variable, Table 33 below demonstrates that the best predictors of acceptance of outgroup members (such as, e.g., Mental Patient, Persons with AIDS, etc.) was age, Non-In/Outgroup Self-Social Schema Orientation including Similarity Orientation. These three variables were each significant and together accounted for over 18% of the variance in the Outgroup Acceptance scores. Social Desirability, Modern Racism, Gender, and verbal measures such as General Acceptance of Others, ProBlack and Modern Racism were not significant predictors of Outgroup Acceptance. Thus, as hypothesized, the results indicate that the Non-In/Outgroup related Self-Social Schema Orientation measures are better predictors of acceptance or nonprejudice toward stigmatized or outgroup members than

traditional measures of prejudice such as Modern Racism or even other more general measures such as the general Acceptance of Others scale. It is noteworthy that while Social Desirability correlated significantly with Outgroup Acceptance, it just missed conventional levels of significance as a predictor of Outgroup Acceptance in the regression analyses. The presence of age as a significant predictor of Outgroup Acceptance does not appear to be overly influenced by education. The correlation between age and education was significant but not extremely large,  $r=.24$ ,  $p<.01$ .

Concerning the Outgroup Similarity variable, as the Table 34 below demonstrates, the best predictors of perceived similarity to outgroup members (such as, e.g., Mental Patient, Persons with AIDS, etc.) was, Non-In/Outgroup Cognition, age, gender, and Self-Social Schema Similarity Orientation. These four variables together accounted for over 11% of the variance in the Outgroup Similarity scores. Social Desirability and other verbal personality measures such as General Acceptance of Others, ProBlack and Modern Racism were not significant predictors of Outgroup Acceptance. Thus, as hypothesized, the results indicate that the Non-In/Outgroup Cognition and Similarity Orientation Self-Social Schema measures are not only predictors of responsiveness toward stigmatized others, but again is shown to be better predictors of acceptance or

Table 33: Forward Regression Model for Predicting Acceptance of Outgroup Members from Demographic Variables, Self-Social Schema Orientation Variables, and Traditional Measures of Prejudice

Source	SS	MS	df	R <sup>2</sup>	Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	F	p-value
Model	4936	617	8	.21	.18	7.127	.0001
Error	19134	87	221				
<hr/>							
Summary of Forward Selection Procedure	Order Within Model		Partial Model				
Variables Entered		B-value	R <sup>2</sup>	R <sup>2</sup>			
Age	1	.44	.11	.11	28.26	.0001	
Ing/Out Orient. Cogn.	4	.48	.05	.16	14.19	.0002	
Similarity Orient.	5	.19	.02	.18	5.89	.0160	
Social Desirability	3	.35	.01	.20	3.83	.0516	
Modern Racism	8	-.12	.01	.20	1.43	.2323	
Gender	2	-.98	.00	.20	.56	.4559	
Gen'l Accept. Others	6	-.02	--	--	--	>.5000	
ProBlack	7	.01	--	--	--	>.5000	

nonprejudice toward stigmatized or outgroup members than traditional measures of prejudice such as Modern Racism or even other more general measures such as the general Acceptance of Others scale. Another important point to mention regarding this Outgroup Similarity variable: This variable may be the most advantageous variable of the five criterion variables. For one, as discussed previously, it shows no significant correlation with Social Desirability.

Further, of the five criterion variables, it is the one that is influenced more by a cognitive style variable (i.e., Non-In/Outgroup Cognition) than a demographic variable (e.g., age or gender). As stated earlier, at issue when studying prejudice may be less what is being asked, and more, how it is being asked. Asking how similar to stigmatized others you see yourself to others deals more with perception. Asking how likely you would be to initiate contact with others or how you feel about others deal more with feelings which may be more susceptible to Social Desirability and maturity concerns.

Pertaining to the Ingroup Acceptance variable, the same multiple regression analyses procedures were conducted upon it in order to ascertain its best predictors. The identical regression model was utilized, only the criterion variable was changed. As Table 35 below demonstrates, Gender and Similarity Orientation were the best predictors of Ingroup Acceptance. These two variables together accounted for 7% of the variance in Ingroup Acceptance scores. Unlike what was found for the Outgroup Acceptance and Outgroup Similarity criterion variables, the Non-In/Outgroup diagrammatic Self-Social Schema Orientation variable was not a predictor of Ingroup Acceptance. However, the non-diagrammatic (i.e., verbal) Self-Social Schema Orientation variable of Similarity Orientation was found to be a significant predictor of both Ingroup and Outgroup

Table 34: Forward Regression Model for Predicting Perceived Similarity to Outgroup Members from Demographic Variables, Self-Social Schema Orientation Variables, and Traditional Measures of Prejudice

Source	SS	MS	df	Adjusted		F	p-value
				R <sup>2</sup>	R <sup>2</sup>		
Model	547	68	8	.12	.09	3.881	.0003
Error	3896	18	221				
Summary of Forward Selection Procedure				Order Within Model Partial Model			
Variables Entered				B-value	R <sup>2</sup>	R <sup>2</sup>	F
Ing/Out Orient. Cogn.	4			.16	.04	.04	10.16
Age		1		.10	.03	.07	6.40
Gender		2	-1.37		.02	.09	4.92
Similarity Orient.	5			.07	.02	.11	4.17
Social Desirability	3			.12	.01	.11	2.22
ProBlack		7		.03	.01	.12	1.67
Modern Racism	8			-.03	--	--	>.5000
Gen'l Accept. Others	6			.02	--	--	>.5000

Acceptance, and a better predictor of it than traditional measures of prejudice.

Concerning the Ingroup Similarity variable, Table 36, the same multiple regression analyses procedures were conducted upon it in order to ascertain its best predictors. Again, the identical regression model was utilized, only the criterion variable was changed. As Table 36 below demonstrates, age and Similarity Orientation were the best

predictors of Ingroup Acceptance. These two variables together accounted for 7% of the variance in Ingroup Acceptance scores. Unlike what was found for the Outgroup

Table 35: Forward Regression Model for Predicting Acceptance of Ingroup Members from Demographic Variables, Self-Social Schema Orientation Variables, and Traditional Measures of Prejudice

Source	SS	MS	df	R <sup>2</sup>	Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	F	p-value
Model	2208	276	8	.10	.07	3.013	.0031
Error	20248	92	221				
<hr/>							
Summary of Forward Selection Procedure	Order Within Model	B-value		Partial Model R <sup>2</sup>	Model R <sup>2</sup>		
Variables Entered						F	p-value
Gender	2	-4.03		.04	.04	9.03	.0030
Similarity Orient.	5	.23		.03	.07	7.27	.0075
Gen'l Accept. Others	6	-.12		.01	.08	2.33	.1286
Social Desirability	3	.35		.01	.09	2.07	.1516
Modern Racism	8	.21		.00	.09	1.17	.2810
ProBlack	7	.10		.01	.10	1.54	.2165
Age	1	-.01		--	--	--	>.5000
Ing/Out Orient. Cogn.	4	.11		--	--	--	>.5000

Acceptance and Outgroup Similarity criterion variables, the Non-In/Outgroup diagrammatic Self-Social Schema Orientation variable was not a predictor of Ingroup Similarity nor Ingroup Acceptance as discussed above. It appears that the

diagrammatic Non-In/Outgroup Cognition variable serves as an advantageous measure when asking about stigmatized characters or outgroup members rather than ingroup members. However, the non-diagrammatic (i.e., verbal) Self-Social Schema Orientation variable of Similarity Orientation was found to be a significant predictor of both Ingroup Similarity and Ingroup Acceptance, and, in both cases was a better predictor than traditional measures of prejudice.

Table 36: Forward Regression Model for Predicting Perception of Similarity to Ingroup Members from Demographic Variables, Self-Social Schema Orientation Variables, and Traditional Measures of Prejudice

Source	SS	MS	df	Adjusted		F	p-value
				R <sup>2</sup>	R <sup>2</sup>		
Model	370	46	8	.09	.06	2.757	.0064
Error	3708		17	221			
Summary of Forward Selection Procedure				Order Within Model	Partial Model		
Variables Entered				B-value	R <sup>2</sup>	R <sup>2</sup>	
Age		1	-.12	.05	.05	11.49	.0008
Similarity Orient.	5		.09	.02	.07	4.24	.0406
Ing/Out Orient. Cogn.	4		-.10	.01	.07	1.80	.1806
Modern Racism	8		.08	.00	.08	1.04	.3097
ProBlack	7		.05	.01	.09	2.11	.1477
Gender	2		-.59	.00	.09	1.02	.3135
Gen'l Accept. Others	6		-.01	--	--	--	>.5000
Social Desirability	3		-.03	--	--	--	>.5000

Finally, concerning the "Lena" variable, the same procedures were followed. That is, in order to ascertain the predictive power of the Self-Social Schema variables (i.e., Similarity Orientation and Non-In/Outgroup Orientation cognitive tendency) as they relate to the "Lena" variable, Forward Selection Procedure multiple regression analyses were conducted. As with the other four criterion variables, the purpose of the forward selection multiple regression analyses related to the hypothesis that the Self-Social Schema variables, especially the non-verbal, diagrammatic ones, would be the best predictors of the criterion measure, "Lena" than would be the demographic variables or other more traditional measures of prejudice.

Given the regression analyses results discussed earlier regarding the impact of the demographic variables, standard statistical analyses protocol called for age and gender (since they were significant in the previous analyses), and social desirability measures, to be entered first into the prediction models. Then entered were the Self-Social Schema measures (i.e., Similarity Orientation and Non-In\Outgroup Orientation cognitive tendency) and finally the more traditional measure of prejudice as predictors of Acceptance of "Lena", such as Modern Racism.

To review, the hypothesized model for each criterion measure, including "Lena" consisted of: Age, Gender, and Social Desirability, as standard statistical analyses

protocol variables; plus the nonverbal or diagrammatic Non-In/Outgroup Orientation cognitive schema tendency variable; plus the verbal Self-Social Schema variable (i.e., Similarity Orientation); plus the traditional measures of prejudice which include Acceptance of Others, ProBlack, and Modern Racism. These variables were entered into a model as predictors of acceptance of "Lena". The rationale for which was discussed in the previous chapter, the traditional measures of prejudice were entered lastly, especially Modern Racism because it is the least general and most emotionally charged measure which in the past has been thought to account for its relatively low predictive power in studies of prejudice. The results are depicted in Table 37 below and indicate that gender, general acceptance of others, and Non-In/Outgroup Orientation cognitive tendency are more predictive of acceptance of "Lena" than are age, Similarity Orientation, Social Desirability, ProBlack and Modern Racism. Thus, once again, the second hypothesis (i.e., that the diagrammatic Non-In/Outgroup Cognitive tendency and Similarity Orientation Schema variable would have better predictive ability than traditional measures such as the Modern Racism Scale) was supported. For a fifth time, the traditional measures of prejudice showed less predictive ability than one or both of the Self-Social Schema variables (i.e., the Non-In/Outgroup cognitive tendency and Similarity Orientation variables were better predictors).

Table 37: Forward Regression Model for Predicting Acceptance of "Lena" from Demographic Variables, Self-Social Schema Orientation Variables, and Traditional Measures of Prejudice

Source	SS	MS	df	Adjusted		F	p-value
				R <sup>2</sup>	R <sup>2</sup>		
Model	3.94	.49	8	.08	.05	2.432	.0154
Error	44.75	.20	221				
<hr/>							
Summary of Forward Selection Procedure		Order Within Variables Entered					
		Model		B-value	Partial R <sup>2</sup>	Model R <sup>2</sup>	
Variables Entered							F p-value
Gender		2		.14	.03	.03	5.84 .0165
Gen'l Accept. Others		6		.01	.02	.05	4.92 .0275
Ing/Out Orient. Cogn.		4		.01	.02	.06	3.78 .0531
Age		1		.01	.01	.07	2.01 .1580
Similarity Orient.		5		.01	.01	.08	1.78 .1830
Social Desirability		3		.01	.00	.08	.60 .4404
Modern Racism		8		--	--	--	-- >.5000
ProBlack		7		--	--	--	-- >.5000

As will be further discussed in the subsequent concluding chapter, these results, when taken together, clearly support each of the major hypotheses proposed at the onset of the major study. Further, there are some important implications of this research regarding directions and methods for the study of prejudice in our society.

## CHAPTER 5 DISCUSSION

Within this study an attempt was made to take a different, more positive approach to the study of prejudice by focusing on nonprejudice. Nonprejudice has been defined in this study as the acceptance of a range of others. The important purposes of the study were first to test the basic hypotheses that diminished ingroup/outgroup tendencies would be highly associated with acceptance of diversity and that these tendencies would be better predictors of acceptance of diversity than classic, verbal measures of prejudice such as the Modern Racism scale. Another goal was to examine the interrelatedness of the acceptance or rejection of a range of categories of others. Within this study, an attempt was also made to obtain a racially, age-wise, occupationally, financially, etc. diverse sample of subjects.

The major objectives of the study were accomplished. The objective of obtaining a demographically more heterogeneous set of subjects was accomplished as indicated by Tables 9, 10 and 11 in the previous results chapter. For example, as discussed in the previous chapter, the ethnic diversity of the subject sampling of Study 2 improved by 16%

over the pilot or Study 1 (Study 1 produced only 16% non-White subjects and Study 2 produced 32% non-White subjects). Age diversity improved by over 30% between the two studies with the pilot study producing only 4% subjects above age 23 while the second study produced 35% subjects above age 23.

The findings manifested regarding the three major hypotheses set forth in this study will now be discussed.

#### Hypothesis 1

The major hypothesis proposed was that the tendency to fail to socially cognize in terms of ingroup and outgroup membership would be positively associated with acceptance of diverse categories of people. The tendency to fail to cognize in terms of ingroup and outgroup membership was measured by the Similarity Orientation, Inclusiveness, Marginality, Nonhierarchicalness, and Heterogeneity components of Ziller's (1990a) Self Social Schema Orientation Instrument (collectively, these last four diagrammatic variables have been termed "Non-In/Outgroup Cognition"). Acceptance of diversity was measured primarily by the revised version of the Ziller (1990b) Category Informativeness Instrument and the "Lena" profile. Related to this hypothesis, the diminished ingroup/outgroup tendencies' association with other measures of acceptance and prejudice were examined (e.g., Modern Racism, General Acceptance of Others, etc.).

As indicated in the Results chapter, the hypothesis that the selected Self-Social Schema Orientation components would be associated with responses toward diverse categories of characters was very well supported by this study. The correlational analyses presented showed that for the subjects who participated in this study, the greater their tendency to orient to the human qualities or similarities that they have in common with others, the significantly greater their likelihood of indicating positive responses toward outgroup characters, ingroup characters, and the character "Lena". Also significantly greater is their likelihood of seeing themselves as similar to both outgroup characters and ingroup characters.

The correlational analyses also showed that for these subjects, the greater their tendency to fail to orient to ingroup and outgroup membership as measured by the Non-In/Outgroup Cognition variable, the greater their tendency to indicate favorable or accepting responses toward outgroup characters and to see themselves as relatively more similar to them than do those who tend to orient to ingroup and outgroup membership.

The forward entry method of regression analyses further supported the correlational findings. In the cases of four of the five criterion measures, at least one of the two Self-Social Schema predictor variables (i.e., Non-In/Outgroup Cognition and/or Similarity Orientation) was a

significant predictor. More specifically, in the cases of the Outgroup Acceptance and the Outgroup Similarity criterion measures, both Non-In/Outgroup Cognition and Similarity Orientation were significant predictors. However, in the cases of the Ingroup Acceptance and Ingroup Similarity variables, the Similarity Orientation variable was a significant predictor, but the Non-In/Outgroup Cognition variable was not. It appears therefore that the diagrammatic Non-In/Outgroup Cognition variable may have more predictive usefulness with potentially reactive variables such as those that measure prejudice towards or acceptance of stigmatized others (e.g., Outgroup Acceptance and Outgroup Similarity).

Further, this study has provided empirical evidence for the theoretical idea that the Non-In/Outgroup Cognition Schemas variable has advantages over traditional measures of prejudice. For the subjects who participated in this study, there was no significant association between the Non-In/Outgroup Variable and Social Desirability as shown in Table 19 in the previous chapter. Modern Racism on the other hand, has a history of correlating with Social Desirability. As an example, in this study Modern Racism correlated significantly with Social Desirability,  $r=-.16$ ,  $r<.01$ . The other advantage that this variable has will be addressed in the next section relating to the second hypothesis.

Referring again to the criterion variables of Outgroup Acceptance and Outgroup Similarity which both were shown to be significantly predicted by the Non-In/Outgroup Cognition variable. Between Outgroup Acceptance and Outgroup Similarity, Outgroup Similarity has two important advantages associated with it that Outgroup Acceptance doesn't. For one, it shows no significant correlations with Social Desirability as indicated in Table 22 of the previous chapter. Also, the forward entry regression analyses results presented in Table 34 of the previous chapter indicated that the Non-In/Outgroup Cognition variable is a better predictor of Outgroup Similarity than any other variable. In the case of the other criterion variables, the demographic variables of age and/or gender displayed greater predictive ability than did the two Self-Social Schema Orientation variables of Similarity Orientation and Non-In/Outgroup Cognition.

To summarize the conclusions that can be made that are related to the first hypothesis are that: As proposed, subjects who tend to fail to orient to others in social situations in terms of ingroup and/or outgroup membership, are significantly more likely to be accepting of outgroup characters and are more likely to see themselves as similar to outgroup characters. That is, we may conclude that as the tendency to fail to organize and orient schematically in terms of status, boundaries, ingroup vs. outgroup

membership, etc., the more accepting of outgroup members one is likely to be. Interestingly enough, of all of these variables discussed above, only Outgroup Acceptance evidenced a significant correlation (but low,  $r=.16$ ,  $p<.05$ ) with Social Desirability. However, as depicted in Table 33 of the Results chapter, when Social Desirability was entered into a Forward Regression Model for predicting Outgroup Acceptance, it did not quite reach a significant level of prediction.

Further, subjects who tend to orient to others in terms of the human characteristics or similarities that they have in common are more likely to be accepting of outgroup and ingroup characters, are also more likely to see themselves as similar to both outgroup and ingroup characters. Although no causal statement can be made based on these results, still the conclusion that can drawn is that this result makes sense because if one has the tendency to orient to similarities, then perceptions of similarity with the target should likely exist.

These results, taken together, definitely support the hypothesis that perception of ingroup and outgroup membership is the key to prejudice, or the reverse, that the failure to perceive ingroup or outgroup membership is the key to nonprejudice toward outgroup members.

Hypothesis 2

The second hypothesis was that the topological Social Schema Orientation measures would be better predictors of acceptance of diverse others (i.e., outgroup members, ingroup members, and "Lena") than verbal measures such as Modern Racism. The forward entry multiple regression analyses results support this hypothesis. Not only were Non-In/Outgroup Cognition and/or Similarity Orientation good predictors of acceptance of various others as discussed above, but they were consistently better predictors than the Modern Racism Scale, and the ProBlack Scale. This was especially true concerning the Outgroup Acceptance and Outgroup Similarity criterion variables where both Non-In/Outgroup Cognition and Similarity Orientation had a significant ability to predict these criterions. In these cases, the forward regression analyses (Tables 33 and 34) clearly indicate that the topological In/Outgroup Orientation Tendency measure accounted for more variance in these two criterion scores than any of the other measures utilized in the study including Modern Racism and ProBlack (other than age in the case of Outgroup Acceptance). Further, in the case of the "Lena" variable, a near significant ( $p=.0531$ ) level of predictive ability was reached for the Non-In/Outgroup Cognition variable while Modern Racism and ProBlack were not even retained in the model because their significance levels were above .50.

In addition, the responses on the Similarity Orientation component of the Self-Social Schema Orientation instrument, though verbal rather than topological, fared just as well. As mentioned regarding the first hypothesis, Similarity Orientation was found to have significant predictive ability for each of the criterion variables except for the "Lena" variable. However, for all five of the criterion measures, Similarity Orientation out paced traditional measures in predictive ability. Even for the "Lena" variable, Similarity Orientation was more predictive than Social Desirability, Modern Racism, and ProBlack, though not at conventional levels of significance (Table 37).

Thus, taking these results together, the Self-Social Schema Orientation components related to ingroup-outgroup cognition, be they topological or verbal, were significantly better predictors of acceptance or rejection of diverse others than conventional measures of prejudice.

### Hypothesis 3

The third hypothesis concerned the question of the globalness or interrelatedness of prejudice. Previous literature and research on this topic indicated that prejudice may be highly interrelated due to the fact that high correlations had been observed for prejudice toward women, African Americans and homosexuals.

The pilot study results (Table 2) showed a large general informativeness of labels factor indicating that there may be a global component to the value placed on categorical information. Several smaller, more specific factors had also been observed however in those same results. It was also recognized that category informativeness may not be synonymous with acceptance or rejection of categories of diverse others. The subsequent study revealed significant but low correlations between category informativeness and acceptance/rejection of those categories (Table 14) indicating that it was appropriate to consider category informativeness and category acceptance as non-synonymous.

The results presented in Table 13 of the Results chapter concerning Study 2 contain wide ranges of factor loadings upon each variable measure (i.e., information valuation, likelihood of approach, openness to being approached, and perceived similarity to diverse others) and does not imply any significant globalness of prejudice. However, extremely stigmatized or "outgroup" categories of diverse others tended to produce similar and large factor loadings as did extremely "ingroup" categories of diverse others. Thus, as suggested by previous literature on this topic, some globalness or interrelatedness of prejudice or nonprejudice may exist for highly stigmatized and for highly accepted extremes of categories of others. However, the

results were not clear enough to make an extremely strong statement in terms of how we orient to others in general, that is, taking into account an array of categories of others and not just those considered within the extremes of our society. The results do support what has already been stated about prejudice for extremely stigmatized groups. That is, if people are likely to be prejudiced toward one stigmatized group, then they are likely to be prejudiced toward other stigmatized groups. This is exactly what the Study 2 factor analysis results showed. But this study offers an additional contribution that previous studies on the interrelatedness of prejudice has not shown in that it illustrates that the same tendency occurs in terms of how we judge socially conventional categories of people (i.e., male, female, 20 years old, White). Accepting or rejecting one of these characters is factorially associated with responding in a similar way to the other "ingroup" characters.

One important implication of the findings regarding this particular hypothesis is that it may illustrate the need to attempt to attack the study of prejudice from a more general or collective perspective rather than focusing only on racism. The focus may need to be, as in the current study, upon a collection of characters that include, but are not limited to, the racial. This means dealing with the racism, the sexism, the ageism, the homophobia, etc. This

could mean looking at prejudice from a moralistic or human rights perspective wherein our ultimate goal is to promote the respect, appreciation, validity, etc. of all people as humans first, and as group members secondly.

#### Hypothesis 4

A fourth but minor hypothesis was that acceptance of diversity would be positively associated with perceptions of similarity to the characters. The results provide some support for this hypothesis, but not without important qualifiers. Because of high intercorrelations that were indicated in the Multi-method Multi-trait analyses, it appears that the associations may have as much to do with similarities in the phrasing of the questions rather than to associations between the concepts that the questions measure. The "Lena" variable however lends better support wherein positive responses to "Lena" were positively associated with higher levels of perceptions of similarity to outgroup members (however the correlations were relatively low, yet significant).

#### Hypothesis 5

The fifth hypothesis, also minor, was that high levels of the Non-Ingroup/Outgroup tendency would be negatively associated with Modern Racism. Low but significant support

for this hypothesis was observed, and was at conventional levels for studies involving the Modern Racism Scale.

#### Hypothesis 6

The sixth hypothesis, also minor, was that high levels of the Non-Ingroup/Outgroup tendency would be positively associated with the Fey (1955; Wrightsman, 1991) general Acceptance of Others Scale. Excepting for a low but significant correlation observed with Nonhierarchicalness, no other evidence was found in the current study for a relationship between failing to think in terms of "us and them" and general acceptance of others as measured by the Acceptance of Others Scale.

#### Hypothesis 7

The minor hypothesis #7 was that when responding to the stimulus characters in the Category Informativeness Instrument females would show a greater tendency to perceive similarity and greater acceptance of diversity scores than would their male counterparts. The rationale for this hypothesis was that because females tended to produce higher Similarity Orientation and Openness scores in past studies, that they should see be more sensitive to their similarities with diverse others and be more accepting of them. Support for this hypothesis was provided by results concerning the "Lena" variable. A low but significant point bi-serial

correlation was observed between responses to "Lena" and gender indicating that the female subjects felt more accepting of "Lena". It should be noted that the male to female subject ratio, unlike in the pilot study, was imbalanced in the current study due to circumstance beyond practical control. The low significant gender correlations may be due in part to the fact that two thirds of the subjects were female and the other one third were male. An even more balance subject set, demographically, is recommended in future studies along this line.

#### Hypothesis 8

The final minor hypothesis, Hypothesis #8, was that ethnic minorities would tend to produce higher perception of similarity and acceptance of diversity scores than their majority counterparts. No support was observed in the results for this hypothesis. Again, as noted above, even more ethnic balance is needed in subsequent studies along this line. The current study made significant improvements over the pilot study in terms of acquiring a more demographically diverse subject set by utilizing community college students. However, even more balance will be needed in future studies.

Summary

Each of the three major hypotheses presented in this study were well supported. Ingroup-outgroup cognitive orientation was indeed positively related to and predictive of acceptance of diverse others. Not only did this relationship exist, but ingroup-outgroup cognition was relatively and in most cases, significantly, more predictive of acceptance of others than were traditional measures of prejudice. And finally, further support for the interrelatedness of acceptance or rejection of categories of others was obtained.

These results add to our understanding of prejudice in that they indicate that "us vs. them" schematic thinking or cognition may be an extremely important piece of the puzzle concerning the problem of prejudice. This kind of thinking or cognitive organization regarding social situations or stimuli may very well tell us more about category based acceptance or rejection of others than attitudinal measures such as Modern Racism and ProBlack. When taken together, the results presented suggest that the ability to think and cognitively organize social data in terms of equal status rather than hierarchies, etc., and the ability to consider ones commonalities with other human beings-- i.e., the oneness of ourselves with other human beings as measured by the cognitively oriented Self-Social Schema Orientation instrument may very well tell us much more about prejudice

than ones attitudes toward any one particular group. Further, these types of measures appear to be more positive, more productive and less reactive which means that some important problems as far as how prejudice is studied are able to be addressed and overcome. This study clearly illustrates the usefulness of the Self-Social Schema's Similarity Orientation component, and even more so, it's Non-In/Outgroup component as a relatively nonreactive and productive measure of prejudice, or the assumed lack thereof in the form of acceptance of a diversity of others.

While this was an extremely large and comprehensive study, it still had its limitations. The most obvious limitation is that no causal statements can be made in spite of the many associations that were found. Therefore, one idea for a future studies would be to utilize experimental designs wherein subject's tendency to think in terms of in and outgroup membership as well as their tendency to think in terms of similarities or differences are manipulated and then their resulting judgements and perceptions regarding outgroup characters are measured in the form of the Outgroup Acceptance, Outgroup Similarity, Ingroup Acceptance, Ingroup Similarity, and "Lena" type variables.

Another limitation involves the role of demographic influences in the associations that were observed. Referring back to the regression analyses conducted involving the demographic variables wherein age and/or

gender were found to be significant predictors of the criterion measures, part of that influence may be due to selection bias. Unlike the pilot study, most of the subjects were female. In the pilot study, the gender distribution was equally divided. But somehow in the second study involving the community college subjects, two thirds were female and only one third were male. In terms of age, while the distribution in the second study was considerably less skewed in favor of younger subjects than it was in the pilot study, still, most of the subjects were still relatively young. Therefore, in future studies it would be useful to attempt an even better balance of not only gender and ages but also education and socioeconomic levels among the subjects and subsequently observe whether the demographic associations are similar to those in the present.

The current study made effective progress and presents a more extensive study and diverse sample of subjects (149 in the pilot vs. 253 in the second study). However, there was still room for biases in the subject selection process. The subjects were pretty much self-selected volunteers motivated only by a promise of a small amount of extra credit and/or strong appeals and urging (also known as begging) by their instructors. Out of the nearly 700 invited to participate, 253 or 38% participated. This was a satisfactory rate of response for statistical purposes,

however their was little room for randomness in the process. Considering the time limitations, resource limitations, and facility limitations involved in studying a community college sample, no complaint is offered in terms of the size and composition of the subjects that were obtained, but recognition is offered, that improvements are theoretically possible if not practically possible.

Another limitation of the study pertains to the assumed definition of nonprejudice. Nonprejudice has been defined in terms of what is known about prejudice. Therefore, nonprejudice is defined as the acceptance of others, and is seen as the antithesis of prejudice. The fact that the Similarity Orientation predictor variable and the Outgroup Acceptance criterion variable both correlated negatively and significantly (though low) with the Modern Racism scale supports the assumption. However, it would be useful to demonstrate correlations of the criterion and predictor measures with other variables such as the California F Scale and the Dogmatism Scale (see Christie, 1991) which are also classic measures of prejudice. The purpose of this would be to gain more empirical evidence for what it means to be nonprejudice. It could be that what it means to be accepting, tolerant and "non"prejudice towards others has little to do with what it means to be prejudiced. Both prejudice and nonprejudice could fall along separate continuums rather than both lying at opposite ends of the

same continuum as has been assumed for the purpose of this study. Other social-psychological variables have found to fall along more than one continuum. For example, public and private self-consciousness were once thought to be opposite members of one single continuum. They more recently have been found to each lie upon their own continuums meaning that a person can be both publicly and privately self-conscious rather than one or the other Scheier and Carver (1982). Could it be that some individuals are both prejudiced and nonprejudiced simultaneously, or perhaps neither prejudiced nor nonprejudiced. In other words, could whether one is high or low in prejudice be a separate construct from their degree of nonprejudice? Assuming that prejudice and nonprejudice are antithetical is a new direction in the study of and understanding of the acceptance of others, but it would be useful to more clearly analyze the limits and the breadth of what it means to be prejudiced or nonprejudiced toward others.

Another direction that future studies along this line could take could include a closer examination of particular lifestyle and demographic variables in order to gain a better understanding of that which is associated with acceptance of a diversity of others. It was noted in the results that it appeared that life experiences in the form of age maturity, marriage, divorce, experiences of losses by death, having a handicap, etc. was associated with some of

criterion measure of acceptance of others. The contention has been made by Stephan and Stephan (1985) and Stephan and Brigham (1985) that non-superficial, equal-status contacts with others who are different from us is conducive to acceptance and understanding of those others. Given this idea, life experiences may be expected to be associated with acceptance of others. Stephan and his colleagues above would contend that these life experiences would have to go far beyond mere contact or familiarity, but would instead have to consist of significant life experiences involving others. Kleck et al. (1966) long ago suggested that, for instance, being handicapped in the form of being confined to a wheelchair was associated with a greater empathy toward or acceptance of others compared to that of the non-disabled.

As an example of an application of this idea, examinations could be made of those who are members of particular organizations in order to observe how that membership impacts upon their view of and acceptance of others. An example of such an organization might be the newly formulated Healing of Racism Institute of Gainesville, FL which holds bi-monthly meeting in the community so that people can come together and explore issues and concerns regarding racism, including their own racism. Such meetings leads to in-depth interchanges amongst a broad range of participants. The participants have often included European-Americans, African-Americans, the multi-ethnic and

the foreign, the very religious, the atheistic, old, young, college educated, non-college educated, the politically involved, police officers and officials, heterosexuals, homosexuals, and even one Klan member. While interchange between some participants has been, on occasion, tense, it nonetheless has led to important interchanges of feelings and information that go beyond mere "contact" and which appears to be leading to significant growth for the participants.

Related to this, there are many other variables that might be interesting to examine. One would be the association between biracialism and acceptance of a diversity of others. Data was collected in the current study in this regard, but very few of the respondents were biracial, nor was any significant statistical association found. The study of the biracial experience and its impact upon the self-concept and the struggle to accept others as well as be accepted by others of multiple worlds has in general been overlooked in the research literature with the exception of individual case studies such as Leanita McClain's A Foot In Each World (1986).

Another variable which is more of a personality type of variable that might be of interest to study in relation to the acceptance of a diversity of others would be locus of control. The question of the association between the perceived degree of power or control that one internalizes

and the degree of acceptance of a diversity of others would be interesting to examine. Out of necessity, are those that perceive less control, power, or efficacy more likely to attend to needs, concerns and perspectives of others and vice versa?

It was intended at the onset to include the variable of "familiarity" with the character(s) in the Category Informativeness Instrument. However, due to practical time constraints concerning the administering of the packet of instruments, it was decided to delimit the instrument and the "familiarity" component was deleted. It may be useful to include this variable and empirically observe its associations with the other predictor and criterion variables in order to better understand its role in the acceptance of others.

It would also be interesting to examine the Non-In/Outgroup Cognition, Similarity Orientation, Outgroup Acceptance, etc. variables and their relation to health. Is nonprejudiced thought and cognition healthier? Or is it more cognitively time-consuming and/or stressful? Which type of thought might be better associated with high blood pressure and why? We assume that nonprejudiced thought is healthier, and hopefully it is. But it could also be much more work on the cognitive and physical system. It would be useful to explore these questions.

An attempt was also made to include the question of whether or not the subjects in the study had participated in a cultural diversity course so that a post hoc analysis could be made of its association with the predictor and criterion variables. Very few of the subjects had participated in a cultural diversity course, nor was any significant statistical association found between cultural diversity and the predictor and criterion variables. Again, this finding could be due to the small number of subjects who have actually taken cultural diversity courses, or it could be because taking one cultural diversity course alone (though a step in the right direction) is not adequate input for learning to accept a diversity of others as Stephan et al. (1985) would probably argue. A full system of re-education and interpersonally meaningful interaction may be required.

Speaking of re-education, it may also be possible to teach people to restructure their cognitive styles of thinking so that their thinking will more likely be conducive to thinking less frequently in terms of ingroup/outgroup membership, and more in tuned to the common human qualities that other individuals have with them. The experimental designs proposed in the beginning of this summary section would be a first step toward understanding whether re-education of this nature might be of value. Some institutions and organizations are already taking it upon

themselves to attempt to re-educate people in terms of how they think about others who are different. In a manner of speaking, they are attempting to teach cognitive orientations or methods for inputting stimulus information in a less biased manner. Ziller (1973) suggested such a method with his "de-alienation" concept wherein others are taught to open themselves up to others.

A more current application of this type of re-education can be found in the Alachua County School Board's HeadStart Program's adoption of an anti-bias curriculum that is based upon Louise Derman-Sparks and the A.B.C. Task Force (1989) book, Anti-Bias Curriculum: Tools for Empowering Young Children. This curriculum is encouraged to begin as early as age 2 and includes suggested practical interventions and implementations for creating an anti-bias curriculum that includes: 1) Learning about racial differences and similarities; 2) Expanding children's understanding of gender anatomy, gender identity, and gender roles; 3) Learning to recognize, resist, and criticize stereotyping and discriminatory behavior; 4) Handling discomfort with differences; 5) Dealing with discriminatory exclusion; 6) Learning assertion and empathy with each other; 7) Children's books, animal stories, anti-bias themes, adult books, and curriculum materials for promoting an anti-bias environment. The validity of this particular curriculum now can be more readily assessed. My personal observations of

some of the Alachua County HeadStart children strongly suggests that they are very much aware of the similarities and differences that they have with other children, and are very accepting of these similarities and differences. I've observed statements such as "He's Chinese", said with a big, happy smile. "Oh, that's Africa", and "That's Indian music", and "I like who I am", spoken very positively have also been overheard. Gender-related statements overheard have included: "It's okay for me [a boy] to play with this doll if I want to, isn't it?" "Can't a girl be a doctor and a boy be a nurse if they want to?"

Hopefully, as research along the line of this dissertation continues, cognitive styles that are conducive to acceptance of diversity can be encouraged and even taught on an organizational, institutional and/or even societal level to promote change in the direction of acceptance and unity rather than stereotyping, prejudice, aggression and violence.

The practical application and the contribution of this type of research is well-stated by Bar-Tal et al. (1989) in their Stereotyping and Prejudice: Changing Conceptions:

It is obvious that the study of stereotyping and prejudice has important implications for the "real world" which is plagued by intergroup animosity, conflicts, and confrontations. It can be noted, to the credit of social psychology, that the study of stereotyping and prejudice is one of the few areas that has had an impact on the "real world." The results of studies as well as various conceptions served as a basis for different public policies in different countries. For example, policies of desegregation in

the U.S. or integration in Israel were at least partially based on the accumulated knowledge in social psychology.

APPENDIX A  
PILOTED CATEGORY INFORMATIVENESS INSTRUMENT

On Knowing Others

If you are about to meet someone you have never seen or met before, and you are given only one of the following pieces of information about that person, how much can you tell about that person? (Circle a number from 1 to 5 where 1 signifies "nothing" and 5 signifies a "great deal".)

ANSWER SCALE:

1

2

3

4

5

NOTHING

A GREAT DEAL

1. 1 2 3 4 5      Male
2. 1 2 3 4 5      10 years of age.
3. 1 2 3 4 5      Permanently in a wheel chair.
4. 1 2 3 4 5      American.
5. 1 2 3 4 5      Is an athlete.
6. 1 2 3 4 5      Just released from prison.
7. 1 2 3 4 5      40 years of age.
8. 1 2 3 4 5      Female.
9. 1 2 3 4 5      Afro-American.
10. 1 2 3 4 5      Has been a patient in mental hospital for  
                          a month.
11. 1 2 3 4 5      A nurse

12. 1 2 3 4 5 Works in a mine.

13. 1 2 3 4 5 High school education.

14. 1 2 3 4 5 Spanish-American

15. 1 2 3 4 5 20 years of age.

16. 1 2 3 4 5 A physician.

17. 1 2 3 4 5 70 years of age.

18. 1 2 3 4 5 Japanese.

19. 1 2 3 4 5 10 years of age.

20. 1 2 3 4 5 White-American.

21. 1 2 3 4 5 Graduate from college.

22. 1 2 3 4 5 AIDS patient.

23. 1 2 3 4 5 Did not graduate from High School.

APPENDIX B  
INSTRUCTIONS FOR PILOT STUDY

The questions which follow are designed to provide an indication of the way you look at yourself and significant other people. This is a social psychological instrument designed for research purposes only. Hopefully, it will tell us something about differences among people in their perceptions of self and others. Your answers will be held in strict confidence.

Please work as quickly as possible. This task should require approximately twenty minutes of your time.

We sincerely appreciate your assistance in this research project.

Dr. Robert C. Ziller

Professor of Psychology

APPENDIX C  
PILOT STUDY DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS

Please complete all of the following questions. (Please ignore the numbers in parentheses; they are for coding purposes only.)

Date: Month \_\_\_\_\_ Year \_\_\_\_\_

Contact Group (circle one): 1 2 3 4 5

Your gender (check one): (0) \_\_\_ Male (1) \_\_\_ Female

Your race (check one): (0) \_\_\_ White (1) \_\_\_ Black (2) \_\_\_ Other

Age: \_\_\_\_.

Marital Status: (0) \_\_\_ Single (1) \_\_\_ Married

Occupation: (0) \_\_\_ Student (1) \_\_\_ Teacher/Professor

(2) \_\_\_ Administrator (3) \_\_\_ Manager of People

(4) \_\_\_ Technician (5) \_\_\_ Clerical Worker

(6) \_\_\_ Human Service Worker

(7) \_\_\_ Service Worker (8) \_\_\_ Other

Last year of schooling completed (circle one):

6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17

Yearly income (to the nearest \$1,000): \_\_\_\_\_.

Political Affiliation (check one): (0) \_\_\_ Republican

(1) \_\_\_ Democrat (2) \_\_\_ Independent

(3) \_\_\_ Libertarian (4) \_\_\_ Other

Religious Affiliation (Check one): (0)  No religion

(1) <input type="checkbox"/> Jewish	(2) <input type="checkbox"/> Catholic
(3) <input type="checkbox"/> Episcopalian	(4) <input type="checkbox"/> Methodist
(5) <input type="checkbox"/> Lutheran	(6) <input type="checkbox"/> Presbyterian
(7) <input type="checkbox"/> Baptist	(8) <input type="checkbox"/> Other

## APPENDIX D INFORMED CONSENT

The following series of questionnaires were compiled by researchers at the University of Florida. The questions are designed to provide an indication of the way you look at yourself and significant other people in various social situations. Hopefully, it will tell us something about differences among people in their perceptions of themselves and others.

Your responses are anonymous and are identifiable only by your own 4-digit identification number. You have the option of using the last 4-digits of your social security or telephone number as your anonymous i.D.#, Or you may create one.

There are no anticipated risks involved in the study. The potential benefit of this study is an increased understanding of human relationships. Your participation in this study is completely voluntary. You are free to withdraw your consent and discontinue participation at any time without penalty. You do not have to answer any question you do not wish to answer.

As the researchers, we cannot offer any compensation for participation in the study. If you have any questions

regarding the study, please contact the principal investigator sponsor, Dr. Robert Ziller, Dept. of Psychology, University of Florida, (904) 392-0429.

Please detach this informed consent and retain it for your own information. Please work as quickly as possible. Completion of the entire questionnaire packet requires approximately 30-50 minutes.

We sincerely appreciate your assistance in this research project.

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Study #1- The following set of questions involve study #1. Please enter your anonymous four-digit i.D. Number here  
— — — — . Be sure that you keep the same anonymous four-digit i.D. Number throughout each study. Please read the instructions for each part of the study very carefully. Thanks.

APPENDIX E  
SAMPLE OF SIMILARITY ORIENTATION ITEMS

The following statements inquire about your thoughts and feelings in a variety of situations. For each item, indicate how well it describes you by choosing the appropriate letter on the scale at the top of the page: 1, 2, 3, 4, or 5. When you have decided on your answer, fill in the letter on the answer sheet next to the item number. READ EACH ITEM CAREFULLY BEFORE RESPONDING. Answer as honestly and as accurately as you can. Thank you.

ANSWER SCALE:

1

2

3

4

5

DOES NOT

DESCRIBES

DESCRIBE ME

ME VERY

WELL

WELL

3. 1 2 3 4 5 At one level of thinking, we are all one of a kind.

6. 1 2 3 4 5 I can see myself fitting into many groups.

9. 1 2 3 4 5 I could never get accustomed to living in another country.

12. 1 2 3 4 5 The same spirit dwells in everyone.

15. 1 2 3 4 5 There is a certain beauty in everyone.

18. 1 2 3 4 5 Men and women will never totally understand each other because of their inborn differences.

21. 1 2 3 4 5 When I meet someone I tend to notice similarities between myself and the other person.

APPENDIX F  
COGNITIVE COMPLEXITY COMPONENT

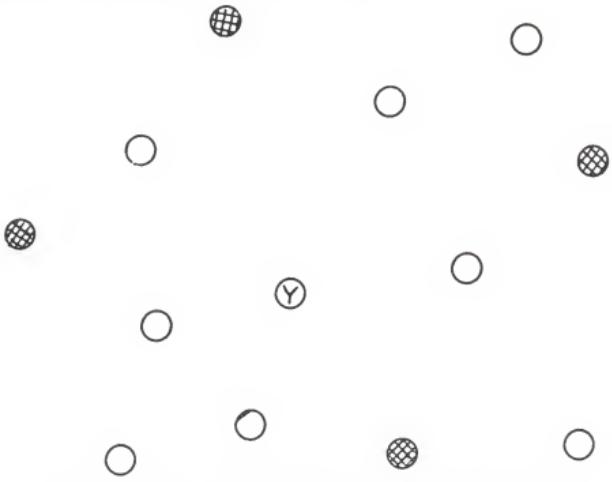
Instructions: Here is a list of words. You are to read the words quickly and check each one that you think describes you. You may check as many or as few words as you like - but be HONEST. Don't check words that tell what kind person you should be. Check words that tell what kind of a person you really are.

1. <u>able</u>	17. <u>different</u>	33. <u>kind</u>	49. <u>strange</u>
2. <u>active</u>	18. <u>dirty</u>	34. <u>large</u>	50. <u>small</u>
3. <u>afraid</u>	19. <u>dull</u>	35. <u>lazy</u>	51. <u>soft</u>
4. <u>alone</u>	20. <u>dumb</u>	36. <u>little</u>	52. <u>strange</u>
5. <u>angry</u>	21. <u>fair</u>	37. <u>lonely</u>	53. <u>stupid</u>
6. <u>ashamed</u>	22. <u>false</u>	38. <u>loud</u>	54. <u>strong</u>
7. <u>bad</u>	23. <u>foolish</u>	39. <u>lucky</u>	55. <u>sweet</u>
8. <u>beautiful</u>	24. <u>friendly</u>	40. <u>neat</u>	56. <u>ugly</u>
9. <u>big</u>	25. <u>funny</u>	41. <u>old</u>	57. <u>unusual</u>
10. <u>busy</u>	26. <u>generous</u>	42. <u>poor</u>	58. <u>useful</u>
11. <u>calm</u>	27. <u>gentle</u>	43. <u>proud</u>	59. <u>warm</u>
12. <u>capable</u>	28. <u>glad</u>	44. <u>quiet</u>	60. <u>weak</u>
13. <u>careful</u>	29. <u>good</u>	45. <u>quick</u>	61. <u>wild</u>
14. <u>cheerful</u>	30. <u>great</u>	46. <u>rough</u>	62. <u>wise</u>

15. clean      31. happy      47. sad      63. wrong  
16. comfortable 32. jealous      48. silly      64. young

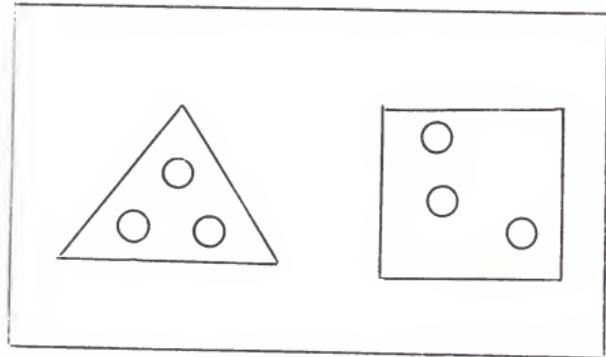
APPENDIX G  
SAMPLE OF DIAGRAMMATIC SCHEMA ITEMS

1. The circle marked "Y" stands for yourself. The other circles stand for other people. Draw as many or as few lines as you wish from the circle representing yourself to the circles which stand for other people.



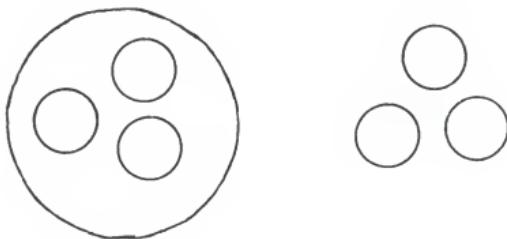
(OPENNESS A & B ORIENTATION SAMPLE ITEM)

2. The two figures below stand for two groups of people you know. The small circles stand for the people in these groups. Draw a circle to stand for Yourself anywhere in the space below.



(MARGINALITY ORIENTATION SAMPLE ITEM)

3. The two figures below describe people of the world. Draw a circle to represent yourself within one or the other of these figures.



(INCLUSION ORIENTATION SAMPLE ITEM)

4. The two arrangements of circles represent people. Choose either arrangement and mark each circle in that arrangement with the letter standing for one of the people in the list. Do this in any way you like, but use each person only once and do not omit anyone. Again, use only one of the two arrangements.

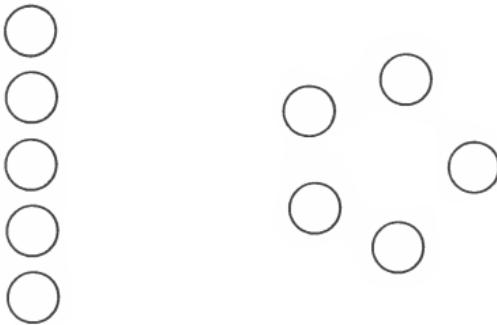
F = a friend

N = someone who is not American

Y = yourself

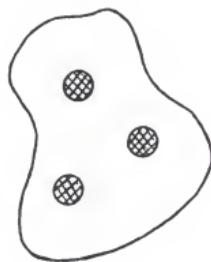
S = a sad person

O = someone of the opposite sex



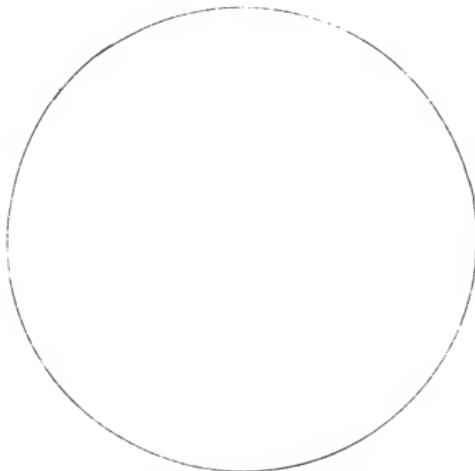
(NONHIERARCHY ORIENTATION SAMPLE ITEM)

5. The two figures below stand for two groups of people you know. The small circles stand for people in these groups. Draw a circle to represent yourself within one or the other of these figures.



(HETEROGENEITY ORIENTATION SAMPLE ITEM)

6. In the large circle below, draw two circles--one to stand for yourself and a second to stand for a friend. Place an "S" in the circle for yourself and an "F" in the circle for your friend.



(OTHER-CENTEREDNESS SAMPLE ITEM)

APPENDIX H  
COVER STORY FOR CATEGORY INFORMATIVENESS ITEMS

Study #2: The following set of questions involve another study. Please enter the anonymous four-digit i.D. Number that you also used in the first study \_\_\_\_\_. Please read the introduction and instructions for this study very carefully.

Introduction to Study Two: Our research team has been commissioned by a state-wide social networking club/organization which also specializes in conducting support group social functions. This particular organization was designed to help people meet with others socially (but not necessarily romantically).

This club is trying to improve their advertisement campaigns in order to make specific client groups more comfortable about meeting other clients on a social level. Our objective is to first determine how much individuals know ahead of time about strangers that they are about to meet. Knowing this will help the above mentioned organization to tailor their advertisements of social events more effectively.

Please answer each stranger-category item independent of all of the other items. Please answer as directly and honestly as possible. There are no right or wrong answers. All responses are anonymous. There are no means by which you can be identified. It will be helpful to us if you answer all of the questions, however you do not have to answer any question that you do not wish to answer. The instructions and questions begin on the next page.

APPENDIX I  
REVISED CATEGORY INFORMATIVENESS ITEM SAMPLE

Meeting Strangers at Social Events- IMPORTANT

INSTRUCTIONS: Pretend that you are alone at a casual social event. You are about to potentially meet some individuals that you have never seen or met before. However, in each case, you are given only one piece of information about the person. Please answer the following questions concerning your potential meeting with the stranger.

For each item, answer each portion by circling the number that represents your response. FOR EXAMPLE: In item #1, question A, you are to indicate, by circling a number, how much the information "30 years of age" tells you about the stranger where circling the number 1 means that it tells you absolutely nothing about the stranger, and the number 7 means that it tells you a great deal about the stranger.

1. 30 YEARS OF AGE.

a. How much does this piece of information tell you about the stranger?

absolutely nothing 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 a great deal

b. Prior to actually meeting the above stranger, how comfortable would you feel about the stranger approaching to meet you?

extremely uncomfortable 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely comfortable

c. Prior to the actual meeting of the above stranger, what would be the chances of your approaching to meet the stranger first?

extremely unlikely 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely likely

d. Just moments prior to actually meeting the above stranger, how similar to yourself overall would you expect the stranger to be?

extremely different 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 extremely similar

APPENDIX J  
REVISED CATEGORY INFORMATIVENESS STIMULI LISTS

The three randomly generated orderings were as follows:

<u>Version A:</u>	<u>Version B:</u>	<u>Version C:</u>
1. 30 Years of Age	1. 40 Years of Age	1. 20 Years of Age
2. Hispanic	2. Japanese	2. Permanently in
a		Wheelchair
3. Male	3. Female	3. Male
4. Japanese	4. Is Homosexual	4. Japanese
5. 20 Years of Age	5. 30 Years of Age	5. 50 Years of Age
6. Has Been a	6. Permanently in	6. Female
Patient in a	a Wheelchair	
Mental Hospital		
for a Month		
7. Is Obese	7. Is Obese	7. Has Been a
		Patient in a
		Mental Hospital
		for a Month
8. An AIDS Patient	8. Hispanic	8. Black-American
9. 50 Years of Age	9. 20 Years of Age	9. 30 Years of Age
10. Just Released	10. An AIDS Patient	10. An AIDS Patient
From Prison		

11. Is Homosexual 11. Has Been a 11. Is Obese  
Patient in a  
Mental Hospital  
for a Month

12. Black-American 12. Just Released 12. Hispanic  
From Prison

13. 40 Years of Age 13. 50 Years of Age 13. 40 Years of Age

14. White-American 14. White-American 14. Just Released  
From Prison

15. Permanently in 15. Black-American 15. Is Homosexual  
a Wheelchair

16. Female 16. Male 16. White-American

APPENDIX K  
THE "LENA" ITEM

Meeting Lena: Lena\* (\*a pseudonym) is a White female, approximately 50 years old. Lena is outgoing and friendly in spite of having been born with "Proteus Syndrome" (i.e., Elephant Man's disease), and as a result, her face looks very different from most other peoples' faces. Because of the Proteus Syndrome, Lena also wears a hearing-aid. Lena sees you at the social event and smiles brightly as she approaches to meet you.

Please detail your thoughts and responses as she makes her way to shake your hand:

APPENDIX L  
THE SOCIAL DESIRABILITY SCALE

Study #3: The final portion of these studies consists of the following set of questions. Please enter the anonymous four-digit i.D. Number that you also used in the other studies \_\_\_\_\_. Please read the instructions for each part of the final study very carefully.

Instructions: listed below are a number of statements concerning personal attitudes and traits. Read each item and decide whether the statement is true or false as it pertains to you.

T   F      1. Before voting I thoroughly investigate the qualifications of all the candidates.

T   F      2. I never hesitate to go out of my way to help someone in trouble.

T   F      3. It is sometimes hard for me to go on with my work if I am not encouraged.

T   F      4. I have never intensely disliked anyone.

T   F      5. On occasion I have had doubts about my ability to succeed in life.

T   F      6. I sometimes feel resentful when I don't get my way.

T F 7. I am always careful about my manner of dress.

T F 8. My table manners at home are as good as when I eat out in a restaurant.

T F 9. If I could get into a movie without paying and be sure I was not seen, I would probably do it.

T F 10. On a few occasions, I have given up doing something because I thought too little of my ability.

T F 11. I like to gossip at times.

T F 12. There have been times when I felt like rebelling against people in authority even though I knew they were right.

T F 13. No matter who I'm talking to, I'm always a good listener.

T F 14. I can remember "playing sick" to get out of something.

T F 15. There have been occasions when I took advantage of someone.

T F 16. I'm always willing to admit it when I make a mistake.

T F 17. I always try to practice what I preach.

T F 18. I don't find it particularly difficult to get along with loud-mouthed, obnoxious people.

T F 19. I sometimes try to get even, rather than forgive and forget.

T F 20. When I don't know something I don't at all mind admitting it.

T F 21. I am always courteous, even to people who are disagreeable.

T F 22. At times I have really insisted on having things my own way.

T F 23. There have been occasions when I felt like smashing things.

T F 24. I would never think of letting someone else be punished for my wrongdoings.

T F 25. I never resent being asked to return a favor.

T F 26. I have never been irked when people expressed ideas very different from my own.

T F 27. I never make a long trip without checking the safety of my car.

T F 28. There have been times when I was quite jealous of the good fortune of others.

T F 29. I have almost never felt the urge to tell someone off.

T F 30. I am sometimes irritated by people who ask favors of me.

T F 31. I have never felt that I was punished without cause.

T F 32. I sometimes think when people have a misfortune they only got what they deserved.

T    F    33. I have never deliberately said something that  
hurt someone's feelings.

APPENDIX M  
ACCEPTANCE OF OTHERS SCALE

Instructions: Please indicate the degree to which you tend to agree with each of the following thoughts.

ALMOST ALWAYS      1      2      3      4      5      VERY RARELY

1 2 3 4 5	1. People are too easily led.
1 2 3 4 5	2. I like people I get to know.
1 2 3 4 5	3. People these days have pretty low moral standards.
1 2 3 4 5	4. Most people are pretty smug about themselves, never really facing their bad points.
1 2 3 4 5	5. I can be comfortable with nearly all kinds of people.
1 2 3 4 5	6. All people can talk about these days, it seems, is movies, TV, and foolishness like that.
1 2 3 4 5	7. People get ahead by using "pull," and not because of what they know.

1 2 3 4 5        8. If you once start doing favors for people,  
                          they'll just walk all over you.

1 2 3 4 5        9. People are too self-centered.

1 2 3 4 5        10. People are always dissatisfied and hunting  
                          for something new.

1 2 3 4 5        11. With many people you don't know how you  
                          stand.

1 2 3 4 5        12. You've probably got to hurt someone if  
                          you're going to make something out of  
                          yourself.

1 2 3 4 5        13. People really need a strong, smart leader.

1 2 3 4 5        14. I enjoy myself most when I am alone, away  
                          from people.

1 2 3 4 5        15. I wish people would be more honest with  
                          you.

1 2 3 4 5        16. I enjoy going with a crowd.

1 2 3 4 5        17. In my experience, people are pretty  
                          stubborn and unreasonable.

1 2 3 4 5        18. I can enjoy being with people whose values  
                          are very different from mine.

1 2 3 4 5        19. Everybody tries to be nice.

1 2 3 4 5        20. The average person is not very well  
                          satisfied with himself.

1 2 3 4 5        21. People are quite critical of me.

1 2 3 4 5        22. I feel "left out," as if people don't want  
                          me around.

1 2 3 4 5      23. People seem to respect my opinion about  
                  things.

1 2 3 4 5      24. People seem to like me.

1 2 3 4 5      25. Most people seem to understand how I feel  
                  about things.

APPENDIX N  
PROBLACK SCALE

Instructions: Please indicate the degree to which you agree with the following statements.

1. Black people do not have the same employment opportunities that Whites do.

Strongly Disagree 0 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Agree

2. It's surprising that Black people do as well as they do, considering all the obstacles they face.

Strongly Disagree 0 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Agree

3. Too many Blacks still lose out on jobs and promotions because of their skin color.

Strongly Disagree 0 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Agree

4. Most big corporations in America are really interested in treating their Black and White employees equally.

Strongly Disagree 0 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Agree

5. Most Blacks are no longer discriminated against.

Strongly Disagree 0 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Agree

6. Blacks have more to offer than they have been allowed to show.

Strongly Disagree 0 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Agree

7. The typical urban inner-city public school is not as good as it should be to provide equal opportunities for Blacks.

Strongly Disagree 0 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Agree

8. This country would be better off if it were more willing to assimilate the good things in Black culture.

Strongly Disagree 0 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Agree

9. Sometimes Black job seekers should be given special consideration in hiring.

Strongly Disagree 0 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Agree

10. Many Whites show a real lack of understanding of the problems that Blacks face.

Strongly Disagree 0 1 2 3 4 5 Strongly Agree

APPENDIX O  
MODERN RACISM SCALE

Instructions: Please indicate the degree to which you agree with the following statements.

1. Over the past few years, the government and news media have shown more respect to blacks than they deserve.

Strongly Disagree 0 1 2 3 4 Strongly Agree

2. It is easy to understand the anger of black people in America.

Strongly Agree 0 1 2 3 4 Strongly Disagree

3. Discrimination against blacks is no longer a problem in the United States.

Strongly Disagree 0 1 2 3 4 Strongly Agree

4. Over the past few years, blacks have gotten more economically than they deserve.

Strongly Disagree 0 1 2 3 4 Strongly Agree

5. Blacks have more influence upon school desegregation plans than they ought to have.

Strongly Disagree 0 1 2 3 4 Strongly Agree

6. Blacks are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights.

Strongly Disagree 0 1 2 3 4 Strongly Agree

7. Blacks should not push themselves where they are not wanted.

Strongly Disagree 0 1 2 3 4 Strongly Agree

APPENDIX P  
REVISED DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

Instructions: We would appreciate your cooperation in completing the following questions. You are not required to answer any question that you do not wish. However, all information will be confidential. (Please ignore the numbers in parentheses; they are for coding purposes only.)

Four Digit I.D. # \_\_\_\_\_

Today's Date: Day \_\_\_\_\_ Month \_\_\_\_\_ Year \_\_\_\_\_

Your Gender (check one): (0)  Male (1)  Female

Age: \_\_\_\_\_

Marital Status: (0)  Single (1)  Married  
(2)  Separated (3)  Divorced (4)  Widowed.

Last Year of Schooling Completed (Circle ONE):

6 7 8 9 10 11 12 / 13 14 15 16 / 17 18 19 20

Specify Total Number of Schools (Grade 1-12) You Attended:

Public  Private  Other  TOTAL: \_\_\_\_\_

How Many Times Did You and/or Your Family Move Before You

Completed High School? \_\_\_\_\_

Do You Presently Have Any Occupation Other Than Student?

\_\_\_\_\_ No \_\_\_\_\_ Yes. If Yes, Please Specify: \_\_\_\_\_

Employment Status: (Check only ONE)

(0)  Not Employed (1)  Part Time  
(2)  Full Time (3)  Retired

Your Own Annual Income (To The Nearest \$1,000): \_\_\_\_\_

Your Family of Origin's Household Annual Income (To  
The Nearest \$1,000): \_\_\_\_\_

Political Affiliation (Check ONE):

(0)  Republican (1)  Democrat  
(2)  Independent (3)  Other (Specify) \_\_\_\_\_

Do You Have A Religious Affiliation?

No  Yes. If Yes, Please Specify Religion  
and/or Denomination: \_\_\_\_\_

How Devoted Do You Feel To Your Religion: (Circle ONE)

Not At All 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Extremely

Family: Number of Brothers and Sisters \_\_\_\_\_

Number of Step-brothers and Step-sisters \_\_\_\_\_

Your Birth Order (Circle One): 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

Are You An Only Child? (0)  No (1)  Yes

Have You Experienced the Death of: (check ALL that apply)

(0)  Mother (1)  Father (2)  Brother  
(3)  Sister (4)  Husband (5)  Wife  
(6)  Grandparent (7)  Close friend  
(8)  Other (Please Specify) \_\_\_\_\_

Do You Have A Physical Handicap?  No  Yes

If Yes, Please Specify \_\_\_\_\_

For How Long \_\_\_\_\_

## Do You Have A Close Friend With A Physical Handicap?

No  Yes

Are You a U.S. Citizen: (0)  Yes (1)  No

If No, of What Country Are You a Citizen? \_\_\_\_\_

Ethnic Background (Please Check Only ONE Below As You Would Describe Yourself)

- (1)  White, Anglo, Caucasian, or European Descent
- (2)  Black, Negro, Afro-American or African Descent
- (3)  Native American, American Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut
- (4)  Cuban, Puerto Rican, Hispanic, or Spanish Descent
- (5)  Asian or Oriental Descent
- (6)  South/Central American Descent
- Other (Describe) \_\_\_\_\_

If You Are of a Biracial or Mixed-Ethnic Background, Please

Check Here: \_\_\_\_\_

Specify Your Ethnic Backgrounds:

\_\_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_\_

Have You Ever Taken a High School or College Course

Involving "Cultural Diversity"? For example, U.F.'s ISS 2270, "Cultural Diversity in the United States"

(Check ONE) (0)  No (1)  Yes,

If Yes, Please List the Name of the Course(s) \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

APPENDIX Q  
DEBRIEFING STATEMENT

The purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between the tendency for acceptance of diversity and general acceptance of people.

In Part 2 of the series of questionnaires, you were told that a social support/networking agency desired to improve their advertising campaigns regarding social events. That was merely a cover story to aid in obtaining information pertaining to the study without biasing your responses. The information that was desired in that portion of the study was related to labels and their impact upon your acceptance of diverse others.

Again, the purpose of the study was to further examine acceptance of diversity characteristics. WE WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR NOT SHARING DETAILS ABOUT THE QUESTIONS, THE SPECIFIC NATURE, NOR THE SPECIFIC PURPOSE OF THE STUDY WITH OTHER STUDENTS BECAUSE SUCH INFORMATION COULD INFLUENCE THE RESPONSES OF FUTURE PARTICIPANTS.

If there are any questions that we can answer, please do not hesitate to ask us now or contact the research sponsor, Dr. Robert Ziller at the University of Florida,

392-0429, or join one of our mini-lectures being held April 20 & 21, at 2:00 and at 2:30pm each day on SFCC's campus in A-26.

We sincerely appreciate your participation in the study. Thank you.

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#### BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

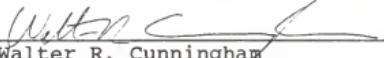
Michelle Robin Dunlap was born in Detroit, Michigan, on May 9, 1960, to Wanda Johnson-Dunlap and Robert Edgar Dunlap. She has two sisters, Rochelle Regina and Cynthia Rachel. She grew up in Detroit, Highland Park and Hamtramck, Michigan. In 1984, she received her B.S. degree in psychology with honors and with high distinction from Wayne State University in Detroit as a four-year, full-time employee of Harper-Grace Hospitals and a Minority Access to Research Careers Fellow. In 1987, she earned her M.S. degree in psychology from the University of Florida as a Florida Endowment Fund McKnight Fellow, after which she began the pursuit of the Ph.D. degree. Other responsibilities that she engaged in while pursuing her doctorate included teaching general and developmental psychology for four years at Santa Fe Community College; teaching similar courses at the Gainesville extension of Bethune-Cookman College; and working full-time as a family counselor in the Early Enrichment/Family Support Program of Mental Health Services, Inc. During these final years of her doctoral program she managed to undertake another career--that of single parenting her preschool nephew, Robert Benjamin Dunlap.

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

  
Robert C. Ziller, Chair

Professor of Psychology

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Walter R. Cunningham  
Professor of Psychology

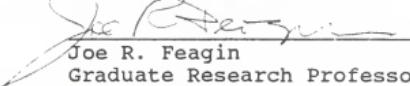
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Professor of Psychology

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Franz R. Epting  
Professor of Psychology

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Joe R. Feagin  
Graduate Research Professor  
of Sociology

This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Department of Psychology in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate School and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Dean, Graduate School